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Book 147

HISTORY
OF THE
STATE OF VERMONT,
FROM ITS EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO THE CLOSE OF
THE YEAR 1832.

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PREFACE.

The acknowledged want of a concise History of Vermont, adapted to the use of the higher classes in our schools, as well as for general reading, is deemed a sufficient apology for adding another to the multifarious publications of the day. The early History of Vermont is unlike that of any other state in the Union. As the inhabitants on the New Hampshire grants had never been organized as a province, under the crown of England, and as they constantly refused submission to the provincial governments, which claimed authority over them, they found themselves without any bond of union excepting their common interests, and their social affections. The History of Vermont is, therefore, that of a people assuming the powers of self government, and advancing, by successive steps, from a state of nature to the establishment of a civil compact and to a regular and efficient organization. These peculiarities of our early history, render it a subject of uncommon interest to all, and, especially so, to the descendants of those statesmen and philanthropists, to whom, through the blessing of God, are indebted for all their valuable institutions; and one of the principal motives which led to the compilation of the following pages was a desire to awaken, and perpetuate, in the breasts of the young, that spirit of patriotism, independence

and self denial, which so nobly animated the hearts of their fathers.

The materials for the following pages have been principally derived from the History of Vermont, by Doctor Samuel Williams, the Vermont State Papers compiled by the Hon. William Slade, and from information collected by the Author, while compiling his Gazetteer of Vermont, in the year 1824. Doctor Williams' history is an interesting and valuable work, but it is too voluminous and expensive for general circulation. The collection of State Papers above mentioned, is invaluable to the historian and antiquarian, as containing the elements of our history, but is not calculated to interest the young, or to find its way into all the families in the state. It has, therefore, been the object of the present undertaking to furnish a work, which should neither be so brief as entirely to preclude any of the important incidents of our early history, nor so voluminous and expensive as to place it above the reach of any individual. With what success this object has been accomplished, it belongs not to the writer to say ; but if this volume shall serve in any manner to revive among us those virtues, for which our ancestors were so much distinguished, he will so far have accomplished one of the principal objects contemplated in the undertaking, and he will hereafter have the satisfaction of reflecting that his humble labors have not been altogether useless.

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SKETCH OF THE TOPOGRAPHY OF VERMONT.

1. Vermont constitutes the north-western part of that section of the United States, which is called New England. It lies between 42 degrees 44 minutes, and 45 degrees of north latitude; and between 3 degrees 31 minutes, and 5 degrees 24 minutes east longitude from the Capitol of the United States at Washington. The length of this State from north to south is $157\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The width is various, being 90 miles at the north end and only 40 at the south. The mean width is about 57 miles, and the whole surface of the State, about 9000 square miles, or 5,760,000 acres. It comprehends the territory lying between Connecticut river and lake Champlain, which was formerly known by the name of the New Hampshire grants, and is bounded north by Canada, east by New Hampshire, south by Massachusetts, and west by New York.

2. The face of the country is generally uneven and the central parts mountainous. The range of Green Mountains, which give name to Vermont, extends quite through the State from south to north, keeping nearly a middle course between Connecticut river and lake Champlain. These mountains rise, in several places, to a height exceeding 4000 feet above the level of the sea,

but they are not generally precipitous, and are most of them covered with timber to their summits. The loftiest of these summits are the Nose and Chin in Mansfield, Camel's Hump, and Shrewsbury and Killington peaks.

3. Among these mountains, arise a great number of streams, which following the several declivities, find their way into Connecticut river on the east, or lake Champlain on the west. The principal streams, which fall into the Connecticut, are the Wantastiquet or West river, Black, Otte-Quechee, White, Wells and Pasumpsic. Those which fall into lake Champlain, are Otter Creek, Winooski, or Onion, Lamoille and Missisco. Black, Barton, and Clyde rivers run northerly into lake Memphremagog. These are all considerable streams, and they all abound in falls and rapids, which might afford water power for propelling machinery to almost any amount.

4. Lake Champlain stretches along the western border of Vermont for the distance of about 100 miles, and varies from half a mile to thirteen miles in width. It affords an easy communication between the Hudson and the St Lawrence, and it will be seen by the following pages that both the French and English frequently availed themselves of the facilities it afforded in their predatory expeditions against each other. Lake Memphremagog is situated on the northern boundary of Vermont and lies about half way between lake Champlain and Connecticut river. It is between 30 and 40 miles long, and from 3 to 4 miles wide. These lakes, as well as the rivers and smaller streams, were formerly well stored with fish; and from their waters the natives derived a large share of their subsistence.

5. When first visited by Europeans, this whole tract

of country was one unbroken forest. At that period the hand of industry had no where laid bare the soil to the genial influence of the summer's sun. The borders of the lakes and rivers were then shaded by a beautiful and lofty growth of pine and elm—the uplands were heavily timbered with maple, beech and birch, interspersed with a variety of other trees—while the mountains, which lifted their blue heads among the clouds, were clothed to their towering summits, with the perpetual verdure of their hardy evergreens.

6. These forests, and the margins of the lakes and streams, were well stored with moose, deer, bears, wolves, otter, beaver, and a variety of other animals, which made this region the favorite hunting ground of the natives ; and here, from time immemorial, the successive generations had pursued the chase, vying in fleetness with the passing wind, and free as the mountain air, which they inhaled.

7. Where now we behold smiling villages, thronged by the busy multitudes, and cultivated farms, yielding the peaceful fruits of regulated industry, then were seen nought, but dark and gloomy forests and the pyres erected in their midst, for the immolation of those, whom the fortune of war had thrown into the hands of an enemy. Where now from our fields and hamlets the hum of business daily ascends, save when exchanged for 'the sound of the church-going bell,' and hushed for the rational and solemn worship of Almighty God,—then were heard only the war-whoop and the death song of the savage—the commingled strains of fierceness and exultation—the horrid shrieks of cruelty and of death.

8. But changes so auspicious in the general aspect of things have not been effected without toils, and difficulties

and dangers, to which the present inhabitants of Vermont, surrounded by their conveniences and comforts, are utter strangers. The ruggedness of the country, the density of the forests, the length and dreariness of the winters, and above all their exposure to the depredations of the merciless savages, were for a long period sufficient to deter all from emigrating hither excepting men of the stoutest hearts and most robust bodies. And then the labors of cutting down the forests, subduing the soil, procuring means of subsistence, and defending their possessions against unjust and arbitrary claims, were calculated to continue in vigorous exercise all their powers of body and mind.

9. But as they possessed neither the means, nor the leisure for mental cultivation, their characters, as would be expected, partook very much of the boldness and roughness of the mountain scenery amidst which they resided. From being accustomed to face dangers of different kinds, and to surmount difficulties by their personal exertions they acquired an unlimited confidence in their own abilities, and imbibed the loftiest notions of liberty and independence. These traits of their general character, as will be seen by the following pages, were fully developed during the controversies, in which it was their lot to be for many years involved, and they have at all periods marked their proceedings in the council and in the field.

HISTORY OF VERMONT.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

INDIAN AND COLONIAL WARS.

SECTION I.

Discovery of America—Discovery and Settlement of Canada—Discovery of lake Champlain.

1. The discovery of the American continent by Christopher Columbus, in 1492, awakened a spirit of enterprise, not only in Spain, but in all the principal nations of Europe. From each of these, expeditions were fitted out, and swarms of adventurers issued forth, either to immortalize their names in the annals of discovery, or to enrich themselves and their country with the treasures of a new world. Spain took the lead in the career of discovery, and was followed by England, France and Holland; but while Spain, invited by the golden treasures of the Incas, was pursuing her conquests and exterminating the defenceless natives in the south, the three latter nations were perceptibly and successfully prosecuting their discoveries in more northerly regions.

2. In 1534, James Cartier, in the service of France, while exploring the continent of America in the northern latitudes, discovered, on St Lawrence's day, the great gulf and river of Canada, to which he gave the name of St Lawrence. The next year he returned with three ships, entered the gulf, and, having left his ships at anchor between the island of Orleans and the shore, he ascended the river St Lawrence with his boats, 300 miles, to the Indian town of Hochelaga, where he arrived on the 2nd day of October, 1535. To this place he gave the name of Montreal, which it has ever since retained. This was doubtless the first voyage ever made by civilized man into the interior of North America, and the first advance of a civilized people into the neighborhood of the territory of Vermont.

3. Cartier and his companions, were every where received by the natives with demonstrations of joy and were treated by them with the greatest respect and veneration. The savages seemed to consider the Europeans as a higher order of beings, whose friendship and favors they deemed it of the highest importance to secure. And this was true not only of the Canada Indians, but of the natives of every part of the American continent ; and the suspicions of the natives were not generally aroused, nor preparations made, either for defence or hostility, till the new comers had manifested their avarice and meanness by the most cruel acts of injustice and violence.

4. On the 4th of October, Cartier departed from Hochelaga, and on the 11th arrived safely with his party at the island of Orleans. Here he spent the winter, during which he lost many of his men by the scurvy, and in the spring returned to France. In 1540, Cartier again visited Canada and attempted to found a colony, but this colony was soon broken up, and no further attempts were made by the French to establish themselves in this part of the country for more than half a century. In 1603, Samuel Champlain, a French

nobleman, sailed up the St Lawrence, visited the several places, which Cartier had described, and, having obtained all the information, which he could derive from the natives, respecting the interior of the country, he returned to France to communicate his discoveries and to procure assistance in establishing a colony.

5. It was not, however, till the year 1608, that the French court could be induced to fit out a fleet for the purpose of founding a colony on the river St Lawrence. This fleet was placed under the command of Champlain, who, in the beginning of July, arrived at a place called by the natives, Quebec. The situation of this place being elevated and commanding, and its being mostly surrounded by water rendering its defence easy, Champlain had in a former voyage designated it as the most eligible spot for beginning a settlement. He therefore immediately commenced cutting down the timber, clearing the land, building houses, and preparing the soil for cultivation. Here he spent the following winter, in the course of which, his little colony suffered extremely from the scurvy and from the severity of the climate.

6. In the spring of 1609, Champlain left Quebec, accompanied by two other Frenchmen and a party of the natives, for the purpose of exploring the interior of the country, particularly the southern lakes, which the Indians informed him opened a communication with a large and warlike nation called the Iroquois. Champlain proceeded up the St Lawrence and the river now called the Sorel, till he arrived at a large lake. To this lake he gave his own name, which it still retains. Proceeding southward, he reached another lake lying to the southwest of lake Champlain, which he named St Sacrament, but which is now known by the name of lake George.

7. On the shores of lake George, they fell in with a party of the Iroquois, between whom and the Canada Indians, a war had long subsisted. A skirmish immediately ensued, but the Frenchmen being armed with muskets, it was soon decided in favor of Champlain

and his party. The Iroquois were put to flight, leaving 50 of their number dead upon the field, whose scalps were taken and carried to Quebec. This was doubtless the first time the Indians, in these regions, ever witnessed the effect of European arms, and it is probable the panic produced in the astonished natives, contributed, not a little, to a favorable and speedy termination of the combat.

8. Thus, so early as the year 1609, was lake Champlain, and the western borders of the present territory of Vermont, discovered and partially explored by the French; and although, after this event, more than a century elapsed, before this tract of country became the residence of any civilized inhabitants, it was, during this period, and long after, the theatre of war, and a scene of Indian havoc and cruelty, of the most appalling character. But these wars were wholly carried on by the Canada Indians and the French, whose settlements were rapidly extending up the St Lawrence, on one part, and by the confederated nations of the Iroquois on the other, previous to the year 1664. This year the Dutch settlement, of New Netherlands, was surrendered to the English, and its name changed to New York; and from this period, the country now called Vermont, and lake Champlain, became the great thoroughfare of the French and English colonies and their Indian allies in their almost incessant wars with each other.

SECTION II.

Progress of the English and Dutch settlements, from 1607 to 1638.

1. While the French were founding their colony at Quebec, exploring the regions of Canada, and rapid-

ly extending their settlements along the banks of the St Lawrence, the other nations of Europe were not inactive. The English, after several unsuccessful attempts, succeeded in 1607, in making a permanent settlement upon the banks of James river in Virginia, and about the same time planted a small colony in the present state of Maine. In 1614, Capt. John Smith explored the sea coast from Penobscot to cape Cod, drew a map of the same and denominated the country New England.

2. In 1609, Capt. Henry Hudson, at that time in the service of Holland, discovered and gave his own name to Hudson river, now in the state of New York, and in 1614, the Dutch began a settlement on the island of Manhattan, where the city of New York now stands. To the country they gave the name of New Netherlands and the town they called New Amsterdam, in allusion to the country and city they had left in Europe. About the same time they built fort Orange where Albany now is, and soon after began settlements at Schenectaday and other places in the vicinity.

3. In 1620, a band of English subjects, who, to avoid persecution, had, 20 years before, taken refuge in Holland, and who were denominated *puritans* from their scrupulous religious conduct, embarked for America, where they hoped to be allowed the privilege of enjoying, undisturbed, their peculiar notions, and of worshiping their Creator in that unadorned simplicity of manner, which they supposed the scriptures to inculcate. Their place of destination was the mouth of Hudson river; and, as they contemplated forming their settlement under the protection of the English, they had obtained a patent of lands from the Virginia company in England previous to their embarkation.

4. After encountering many difficulties and delays they finally got to sea, but their pilot, either through treachery or ignorance, shaped his course so far to the northward, that the first land they discovered was

cape Cod, distant more than 300 miles from the nearest civilized settlement, and not within the limits of their patent. The season was so far advanced, it being now the 9th of November, that it was deemed expedient to attempt a settlement in the section of country where they were, and preparations for that purpose were immediately commenced. After spending some time in exploring the coasts and harbors; and after having formed themselves into a body politic under the crown of England and chosen John Carver, their governor, they landed on the 22nd day of December, and began a settlement, which they called New Plymouth, (now Plymouth in Massachusetts,) in allusion to the town they had left in England.

5. This colony, at first, consisted of 101 persons; but the severity of the climate, the want of accommodations, their unusual hardships and a mortal sickness which prevailed, reduced their number to 56, before the opening of the next spring. Their drooping spirits were, however, revived during the next summer, by the arrival of supplies from England and by a considerable addition to the number of settlers. From this time the affairs of the Plymouth colony assumed a brighter aspect, and the settlements in these parts were rapidly extended.

6. As early as the year 1623, the English had begun settlements at Portsmouth and Dover, in the present state of New Hampshire, and, in 1633, they had penetrated the wilderness to Connecticut river and established themselves at Windsor in Connecticut. In 1635, they had extended their settlements northward up this river as far as Springfield in Massachusetts, and soon after they established themselves at Deerfield. Thus early were the French on the north, the Dutch on the south and the English on the east, advancing their settlements into the neighborhood of the present state of Vermont.

7. A short time previous to the arrival of the Plymouth colony a mortal sickness had prevailed among the natives, by which the country, in the neighborhood

of their landing, had been almost divested of inhabitants. But the natives, who remained, welcomed the English with demonstrations of joy, and seemed disposed to admit the new comers into their country upon friendly terms. But the repeated acts of injustice and extortion on the part of the settlers, and the astonishing rapidity with which their settlements were extending over the country, at length aroused the jealousy of the Indians, and in 1630, a general conspiracy was formed by the Naragansets and other tribes, the object of which was the total extermination of the English. The settlers however, were seasonably informed of the plot and their vigorous preparations to defeat it, effectually deterred the Indians from attempting its execution.

8. But soon after this event, the English settlers were involved in a war with the Pequods, a powerful tribe of Indians, who inhabited the northwestern parts of Connecticut. This war was prosecuted with vigor on both sides, but was terminated in 1637, by the complete overthrow of the Pequods. Seven hundred of the Indians were slain, some fled to the Mohawks, by whom they were treacherously murdered, and the Pequods who remained in the country and the other tribes of Indians were so much terrified at the prowess of the English as to be restrained from open hostilities for nearly forty years.

SECTION III.

French and English Colonies—Transactions in the vicinity of Vermont from 1638 to 1705.

1. Although both the French and English colonies had long been in the habit of furnishing the Indians with arms, ammunition, provisions and clothing, when

going to war either among themselves, or with an opposite colony; yet previously to the year 1689, no expedition had ever been fitted out in one colony for the express purpose of aiding the Indians in their depredation upon another. This year it was resolved by the French to attempt, by the aid of the Canada Indians, the conquest of the province of New York, which had now been for some time in possession of the English. They looked upon this course as the only effectual method of subduing their most inveterate and troublesome enemy, the Iroquois.

2. It was proposed that a large body of Canadians and Indians should march by the way of lake Champlain, and fall upon Albany and the other northern settlements; and that the city of New York should be at the same time attacked by a fleet, ordered for that purpose from France. But while preparations were making and before the arrival of the fleet, the Iroquois made a descent upon Canada, plundered and burnt Montreal and broke up most of the frontier settlements. Frontenac, the French general, was so much disheartened by these calamities, that he relinquished the hope he had entertained of conquering New York, but he considered some attempt against the English settlements indispensable, in order to revive the drooping spirits of the Canadians and Indians.

3. Two parties were therefore sent out. One of these, under the command of *Seur Hortel*, on the 18th of March, 1690, succeeded in destroying the fort at Salmon falls in New Hampshire, where they slew 30 of the English and took 54 prisoners, whom they carried to Canada. The other party, consisting of 200 French and 50 Indians, commanded by *D. Aillebout*, set out from Montreal in the beginning of January, and, proceeding by the way of lake Champlain, directed their march towards Schenectady, a settlement on the Mohawk river, 14 miles northwest from Albany. But on account of the length of their march through deep snows in the midst of winter, they were reduced

to such extremities by hunger and fatigue, when they arrived in the vicinity of this place, that they thought seriously of surrendering themselves to the English as prisoners of war. They, however, sent forward their spies, who reported, on their return, that the inhabitants were in no apprehension of danger—that the soldiers were few and undisciplined, and that the place was in no condition for defence.

4. Encouraged by this intelligence, the party moved forward, and on the 8th of February, 1690, at 11 o'clock in the evening, they entered the village of Schenectady, and separating into small parties appeared before every house at the same time. Never was a place more completely surprised. Without the least apprehension of danger the inhabitants had just retired to their beds, and, while their senses were locked in the soundest sleep, the terrible onset was made. A general shriek aroused the place, and to many it was the shriek of death. The terrified and bewildered inhabitants attempted to rise from their beds, but they rose only to meet the tomahawk, which was lifted for their destruction. The whole village was instantly in flames; and to add to this heart rending scene, the infernal yell of the savage was incessantly commingled with the shrieks and the groans of the dying.

5. In this massacre no less than 60 persons perished; and 27 were taken prisoners and carried, by the French and Indians into captivity. They, who escaped the hands of the enemy, fled nearly naked, towards Albany through a deep snow, which had fallen that very night. Of those who succeeded in reaching Albany, no less than 25 lost some one, or more, of their limbs by the severity of the frost. The news of this awful tragedy reached Albany about day break and spread universal consternation among the inhabitants. The enemy were reported to be 1400 strong, and many of the citizens of Albany advised to destroy the city and retreat down the river towards New York. But Col Schuyler and some others at length succeeded in

rallying the inhabitants, and a party of horse soon set off for Schenectady. Not thinking themselves sufficiently strong to venture a battle, the enemy were suffered to remain in the place till noon, when, having destroyed the whole village, they set off for Canada with their prisoners, and with 40 of the best horses loaded with the spoils.

6. On the first of May following, commissioners from the several English colonies met at the city of New York for the purpose of concerting measures for the common safety and defence. Here it was agreed that the conquest of Canada would be the only effectual means of securing peace and safety to their frontiers, and it was recommended that vigorous efforts be made for the accomplishment of that object. Two expeditions were therefore planned; one under Sir William Phips, which was to proceed against Quebec by water, and the other under John Winthrop, which was to be joined by the Iroquois, and, proceeding by the way of lake Champlain, was to attack Montreal. The latter expedition was abandoned on account of the lateness of the season and the refusal of the Iroquois to join it, and the one under Phips proved unsuccessful.

7. In the summer of 1691, Col Schuyler put himself at the head of a party of Mohawks, who were a tribe of the Iroquois, and, passing through lake Champlain and the western borders of Vermont, made a successful eruption upon the French settlements on the river Sorel, in which were slain 300 of the enemy; a number exceeding that of his own force. In January, in 1695, a party of six or seven hundred French and Indians marched by the way of lake Champlain and attacked the Mohawks in their own country. Intelligence of these transactions no sooner reached Albany, than Schuyler, at the head of 200 volunteers, hastened to their relief. Several engagements ensued, in which Schuyler had the advantage, and the enemy were soon compelled to make a hasty retreat to Canada.

8. These reciprocal depredations were continued till the treaty between France and England, in 1697, put an end to hostilities and restored peace to the colonies. But this peace was of short continuance. War was again declared in Europe in 1702, and in this the colonies were soon involved. During this war the frontiers of New England were kept in continual alarm by small parties of the enemy and suffered severely. The town of Deerfield in Massachusetts had been settled some years and was at this time in a very flourishing condition: but being the most northerly settlement on Connecticut river, excepting a few families at Northfield, the French and Indians devoted it to destruction.

9. In the winter of 1704, a party of about 300 of the enemy under De Rouville set out upon an expedition against this ill fated place. They proceeded up lake Champlain to the mouth of Winooski, or Onion river, and following up that stream, they passed over to Connecticut river. Proceeding down the Connecticut upon the ice, they arrived in the vicinity of Deerfield on the 29th of February. Here they concealed themselves till the latter part of the night, when, perceiving that the watch had left the streets and that all was quiet, they rushed forward to the attack. The snow was so high as to enable them to leap over the fortifications without difficulty, and they immediately separated into several parties so as to make their attack upon every house at the same time. The place was completely surprised, the inhabitants having no suspicions of the approach of the enemy till they entered their houses.

10. Yet surprised and unprepared as they were, the people of Deerfield made a vigorous defence; but were at length overpowered by the enemy. Forty seven of the inhabitants were slain, the rest captured and the village plundered and set on fire. About one hour after sunrise the enemy hastily departed; and, although pursued and attacked by a party of the En-

glish they succeeded in escaping to Canada, where they arrived with their prisoners and booty after a fatiguing march of 25 days. For several years after the destruction of Deerfield, the frontiers, both of Canada and the New England provinces, were one continued scene of massacre and devastation.

SECTION IV.

French and English Colonies.—Transactions in Vermont and its vicinity, from 1705 to 1749.

1. The merciless depredations upon the frontiers of New England still continuing, it was again determined, in 1709, to attempt the conquest of Canada. The plan of operations was very similar to that devised in 1690. Quebec was to be attacked by water, and an army of provincial troops was, at the same time, to proceed by the way of lake Champlain and reduce Montreal. But the failure of Great Britain to furnish a fleet for the enterprise against Quebec, and the mortal sickness, which prevailed among the troops collected at Wood Creek and designed to act against Montreal, defeated all their plans, and the army raised was consequently disbanded. The failure of these designs against Canada, again left the English frontiers exposed to all the horrors of Indian warfare.

2. The next year the English colonies fitted out an expedition against the French settlements at Acadia, and encouraged by their success, they now began to meditate another attempt upon Canada. The same plan of operations was adopted, which on two former occasions they had been unable to carry into effect.—Quebec was to be invested by water, and Montreal was to be at the same time assailed by an army, which was to enter Canada by the way of lake Champlain.

The fleet designed to proceed against Quebec was therefore collected and equipped at Boston, and the army, which was to reduce Montreal, was collected at Albany ; and the most sanguine hopes of success prevailed throughout the colonies. But all these hopes were blasted in one fatal night. The fleet sailed from Boston on the 30th of July, 1711, and just as it entered the St Lawrence, it encountered a storm in which eight of the vessels were wrecked and more than a thousand of the men perished.

3. The army designed to enter Canada by the way of lake Champlain, had advanced but a short distance from Albany, when they received the disheartening intelligence of the disaster, which had befallen the fleet. They immediately returned ; the expedition was given up and the army disbanded. Thus terminated the third attempt at the conquest of Canada, leaving the frontiers still exposed to the inroads of a merciless foe. A peace was, however, concluded in Europe between Great Britain and France about this time, which put an end to the contest between their colonies in America, and during the next year treaties of peace were made with most of the hostile Indian tribes. But the peace with the Indians was of short continuance. They had long been jealous of the growing power of the English, and were ready to seize upon the most trifling injury as a pretext for the renewal of hostilities.

4. From the year 1720 to 1725, a very destructive war was carried on between the eastern Indians and the New England provinces. The French and English were at this time at peace ; but the French missionaries, and the governor of Canada himself, were actively employed in instigating the Indians to hostilities. In the progress of this war the English made a successful expedition against the Indian town of Norridgewok, where they slew the Jesuit missionary, Ralli, and 80 Indians, and destroyed the town ; and it was during this war, in the year 1724, that the first civilized establishment was made, within the present limits of Vermont, by the erection of fort Dummer.

5. To the year 1725, a long peace succeeded, not only between France and England, but also between the colonies and the various Indian tribes. But the colonies, during this time, were not inactive. They were busily employed in advancing their out posts, extending their settlements and preparing for future emergencies. The English had established a trading-house at Oswego in 1722. In 1726, the French, in order more effectually to secure to themselves the trade with the natives, launched two vessels on lake Ontario and repaired their fort at Niagara. In 1731, the French came up lake Champlain and established themselves in the present township of Addison in Vermont, and about the same time erected a fortress upon a point of land on the west side of the lake and nearly opposite, which they called St Frederick, but which afterwards took the name of Crown Point.

6. The country along lake Champlain, where these establishments were made, belonged to the Iroquois Indians, but was claimed by New York and was granted in 1696 to one Dellius, a Dutch clergyman at Albany. By the English colonies, the proceedings of the French were observed with much solicitude; yet on account of the internal divisions in the province of New York, no effectual measures were taken to prevent them. Thus were the French permitted to make their advances towards the English settlements, and upon lands claimed by the English, to erect a fortress, which would enable them to prosecute their future expeditions against the frontiers of New York and New England, with facility and safety.

7. In 1744, Great Britain and France were once more involved in war, which soon extended to their colonies and their Indian allies, when the English began to experience in the depredations of the enemy, their extreme folly in permitting the French to establish themselves at Crown Point. Hoosuc fort, at Williamstown, in Massachusetts and near the southwest corner of Vermont, was at this time, the most

northerly post of the English in the western part of New England. Against this place an army of about 900 French and Indians under M. de Vaudriol proceeded from Crown Point in August, 1746, and on the 20th of that month appeared before the fort. The garrison consisted of only 33 persons, including women and children, and was commanded by Col Hawks, who after a vigorous defence of 28 hours, and having expended all his ammunition, surrendered to the enemy. Hawks lost but one man, while more than 40 of the assailants were either slain or mortally wounded; and he supposed that, had he been well supplied with ammunition and provisions, he should have been able to have defended the fort against all the assaults of his numerous enemy.

8. The English had, at this time, extended their settlements as far northward along Connecticut river as *Number Four*, now Charleston, in New Hampshire, and had erected several small forts on the west side of that river, in the vicinity of fort Dummer. Among these were Bridgeman's and Startwell's fort in Vernon Vermont, formerly a part of the township of Hinsdale New Hampshire. Bridgeman's fort was attacked the 24th of June, 1746, by a party of 20 Indians, who killed two of the English, wounded one and took several prisoners, but were finally repulsed. They, however, succeeded the next year, in taking and destroying this fort, in killing several of the inhabitants, and in carrying a number of others into captivity.

9. In 1747, the settlement at Number Four was abandoned by the inhabitants, and the fort at that place was garrisoned by 30 men under the command of Capt. Phineas Stevens. On the 4th of April, a party of 400 French and Indians under M. Debeline surrounded this fort and commenced an attack by firing upon it on all sides. This proving ineffectual, the enemy next endeavored to burn the fort by setting fire to the fences and huts around it and by discharging flaming arrows upon it. Not succeeding in this, they next prepared a wheel carriage which they loaded with

faggots, and by pushing this before them, they endeavored by it to set fire to the fort while it protected them from the fire of the garrison.

10. All these attempts were, however, defeated by the vigilance and bravery of Stevens and his men, and at length an interview took place between the two commanders. At this interview Debeline boasted of his superior numbers, expressed his determination to storm the fort, and described in glowing colors the horrid massacre, which would ensue if the fort was not surrendered without further resistance. To all this Stevens coolly replied ; "*I can assure you that my men are not afraid to die.*" After this interview the attack was renewed with much spirit, and, after continuing it for three days without success, the French commander proposed to Stevens that he would abandon the siege and return to Canada on condition that the garrison would sell them provisions for the journey. This Stevens absolutely refused, but proposed to give them five bushels of corn for every captive for whom they would leave a hostage, until they could be brought from Canada. The enemy, not relishing these conditions, after firing a few guns, withdrew, leaving Stevens in peaceable possession of the fort.

11. In this siege Stevens lost not a man, and had but two men wounded. The loss of the enemy was not ascertained, but must have been very considerable. And so highly was the gallantry of Stevens on this occasion esteemed by Sir Charles Knowles, a British naval officer then at Boston, that he presented him an elegant sword ; and from this circumstance the township, when it was incorporated, received the name of Charlestown. During the remainder of the war, which did not entirely cease till 1749, the New England frontiers, were continually harrassed by small parties of Indians, but no considerable expeditions were undertaken either by the French, or English colonies.

SECTION V.

French and English Colonies—from 1748 to 1756. Braddock defeated—the French defeated at fort William Henry.

1. By the treaty concluded between Great Britain and France, in 1748, at Aix la Chapelle, the controversy respecting claims in America, was to be referred to commissioners appointed by the sovereigns of the two nations. These commissioners met at Paris in 1752, and labored for some time to establish the claims of their respective courts; but they found it impossible to come to an agreement on the subject, and soon after the two countries were again involved in war, in which their colonies, as usual, shortly after participated.

2. In 1754, a convention of delegates from the several English provinces, convened at Albany, for the purpose of devising some general and efficient plan of operations in the struggle which was about to ensue. Here it was resolved to apply to the British parliament for an act constituting a grand legislative council to be composed of delegates from the several legislative assemblies in the colonies, and subject to the negative of a president-general, appointed by the crown. But this plan of union had the singular fortune to be rejected both by the colonies and the mother country. By the colonies it was supposed to give to the crown prerogatives which would endanger their liberties, and by the king, it was supposed to concede to the colonial assemblies, rights and powers which he was by no means prepared to acknowledge.

3. It was on the 4th of July, 1754, that the above plan of American union was agreed to by the convention, and it is worthy of remark, that this plan was consummated, July 4th, 1776, just 22 years from that day, by the declaration of American Independence. During the deliberations of the convention and the

interchange of views and opinions between the colonies and the mother country, the colonies themselves were making every preparation for the defence of their frontiers. In the beginning of the year 1755, Governor Shirley convened the assembly of Massachusetts, and communicated to them a plan, which he had formed, for the reduction of the French fortress at Crown Point. The assembly readily concurred and commissioners were sent to the neighboring provinces to request their assistance and co-operation.

4. Col Johnson, of the province of New York, was appointed to command this expedition and all the northern colonies were engaged in making preparations for it, when Gen. Braddock arrived in Virginia with two Irish regiments. A convention of the several governors and commanders in the English colonies, was therefore immediately assembled at Albany, in which it was determined that, during the summer, four different expeditions should be undertaken against the French; namely;—one under the direction of Braddock against fort Du Quesne, one under Shirley against Niagara; one under Johnson against Crown Point, and one under Cols Monckton and Winslow against the French settlements in Nova Scotia.

5. Braddock set out for fort Du Quesne on the 20th of April, with 22,00 men and marched forward confident of victory and fame, but, disregarding the advice of his officers and unaccustomed to American warfare, he fell into an ambuscade of about 400 French and Indians, by whom he was defeated and slain. The regular troops were thrown into the utmost confusion by the unexpected onset and fiendlike yells of the savages, but the Virginia militia, which Braddock, had disdainfully, placed in the rear, being trained to Indian fighting, continued unbroken and, by the prudent management of George Washington, then a Colonel of the militia and Aid to Braddock, so effectually covered the retreat as to save a part of the army from destruction.

6. The army, designed for the reduction of the fort at Niagara, effected nothing, except the strengthening of the fortifications at Oswego. Johnson, having collected five or six hundred provincial troops at Albany, for the expedition against Crown Point, sent them forward, under the command of Gen. Lyman, to the carrying place between the Hudson and lake George, where they erected fort Edward. Johnson did not leave Albany till the 10th of August, and the latter part of that month he advanced 15 miles beyond fort Edward and encamped near the south end of lake George.

7. Shortly after his arrival at this place, he received intelligence from his scouts that the French had taken possession of Ticonderoga, which commanded the communication between lake George and lake Champlain. Johnson was aware of the importance of this post, and hastened his preparations that he might move forward and dislodge the enemy. But before his batteaux and artillery were in readiness, the French had erected fortifications sufficiently strong to defend themselves against surprise, or an easy conquest.

8. Alarmed by the exaggerated account of the English force assembled at lake George, and designed for the reduction of the fort at Crown Point, Baron Dieskau hastened forward to its defence with a considerable army of French and Indians. But having ascertained that an immediate attack from the English was not to be expected, he resolved to move forward and attack the English in their camp, and, if successful, proceed further and perhaps get possession of Albany and Schenectady. He embarked his army, consisting of 18,00 men, in batteaux and landed at South bay, which is near the south end of lake Champlain. Here he learned from an English prisoner that fort Edward was almost defenceless, and that Johnson's camp at lake George was protected neither by entrenchments nor by cannon.

9. Dieskau, therefore, directed his march towards fort

Edward, and when within three or four miles of the place communicated to his army his design of attacking the fort, and expressed to them entire confidence of success. His army, which consisted mostly of Canadians and Indians, were not however so sanguine in their expectations. They by no means relished the idea of making an assault upon the fort, where they should be exposed to the destructive fire of cannon; but they expressed a willingness to attack the English in their camp at lake George, where they supposed that muskets would be the only arms employed against them. Under these circumstances Dieskau found it necessary to comply with the inclination of his troops and immediately altered the direction of his march and proceeded towards the English encampment.

10. Johnson had no intelligence of the approach, or of the designs of the enemy, till after their departure from South bay, when he learned that a large body of French and Indians were on their march towards fort Edward. He immediately sent off two separate messengers to apprise the garrison of the intended attack, and to bring him intelligence respecting the force and designs of the enemy. One of these messengers was intercepted and slain; the other returned about midnight, and reported that he saw the enemy about four miles to the northward of fort Edward and evidently designing an attack upon that place. In the morning it was resolved in a council of war that one thousand English and a number of Indians should be detached and sent under the command of Col Williams to intercept the enemy in their return to lake Champlain, either as victors, or defeated in their designs upon fort Edward.

11. The English encampment had lake George on one side and two other sides were covered by swamps, and thick woods; and after the departure of the detachment a slight breast-work of logs was thrown up and a few cannon, which had just arrived, were planted in front, which was the only assailable side. Williams

had proceeded only four miles when he met the enemy in full march towards Johnson's encampment. An engagement immediately ensued, but Williams was obliged to retreat before the superior force of the enemy. Johnson, hearing the firing and perceiving that it approached, beat to arms and dispatched Col Cole with 300 men to cover the retreat, while he made the best preparation he could for receiving the enemy. About 10 o'clock some small parties came running back to the camp with intelligence that the detachment was attacked on all sides and was retreating; and soon after all who escaped returned in considerable bodies to the encampment.

12. At half after eleven o'clock, the enemy were seen to approach in regular order aiming directly towards the centre of the encampment. When they arrived within about 150 yards of the breast-work, they halted, and the Canadians and Indians filed off upon the right and left flanks. The regular troops then moved forward and commenced the attack upon the centre by platoon firing, which, on account of the distance, produced little effect. A brisk fire was now opened upon the enemy by the artillery stationed at the breast-work, which so terrified the Canadians and Indians, that they immediately betook themselves to the swamps, where from behind logs and trees they kept up an irregular fire upon the encampment.

13. The engagement now became general, and the French regular troops, for some time, maintained their ground and order; but finding themselves abandoned by the Canadians and Indians, and suffering severely by the incessant fire from the breast-work, they at length directed their attack to the right where they were received with firmness by the regiments of Ruggles, Williams and Titcomb. After continuing an unsuccessful attack upon this point for about an hour, and sustaining a heavy loss from the fire of the English, Dieskau attempted a retreat, as the only means of saving the remainder of his troops.

14. Observing his intention a party of the English leaped over their breast-work, and falling upon the rear of the French, soon dispersed them. Dieskau was found resting upon the stump of a tree, wounded and unable to walk. As a provincial soldier approached him, he was putting his hand in his pocket for his watch to present to him ; but the soldier, supposing that he was feeling for a pocket pistol, discharged his musket at him and gave him a mortal wound in his hip.

15. The enemy on their retreat collected and made a halt at the place where the engagement began in the morning with the detachment under Col Williams. Here they were attacked by a party of 200 men under the command of Capt. M'Ginnes, a New Hampshire officer, who had been ordered from fort Edward to the aid of the main army under Johnson. The attack was made with impetuosity and spirit, and the French, after a resistance of nearly two hours, were again dispersed in every direction. In this last engagement the English lost 12 men, and the brave M'Ginnes died a few days after his arrival at Johnson's encampment, of the wounds he had received.

16. The whole loss of the English in these several engagements was 130 slain, and 60 wounded. Among the slain were Col Williams, Maj. Ashley, and Captains, Ingersol, Porter, Ferrel, Stoddard and M'Ginnes, and among the wounded was Col Johnson. Of the Indians belonging to Johnson's army about 40 were slain, among whom was Hendrick, a distinguished Mohawk sachem. The loss of the French was about 700 slain, and among these were several officers of distinction. Johnson was deterred by fear, or some other cause, from pursuing the retreating enemy, or making any attempt upon their works on lake Champlain ; and the remainder of the campaign of 1755, was spent in erecting a fort at the south end of lake George, which was afterwards called fort William Henry.

SECTION VI.

French and English Colonies—from 1756 to 1758. Fort William Henry surrendered to the French—Massacre of the garrison.

1. In 1756 a considerable number of troops, and several distinguished officers arrived from England, and a large provincial army was collected at Albany and fort William Henry. But while the English officers were deliberating upon the course to be pursued and the troops were lying inactive, the French, under the brave Montcalm, were prosecuting their affairs with energy and success. With scarcely any loss on their part, they succeeded in taking and demolishing the forts at Oswego, where they took 1400 prisoners, 120 pieces of cannon, 14 mortars, and a large quantity of ammunition, military stores and provisions, and also 2 sloops and 200 batteaux. The English suffered the season to pass away without any attempt to retrieve their loss, or annoy the enemy.

2. The command of the English forces in America having been given to Lord Loudon, he sailed from New York in the spring of 1757, with 6000 men for the purpose of capturing the French fortress at Louisburg. At Halifax his force was increased to 12000 men, with a fleet of 15 ships of the line and a large number of transports under admiral Holburne. But he here received intelligence, that a French fleet of 17 line of battle ships and three frigates had arrived at Louisburg—that their land force amounted to 6000 regulars, 3000 natives, and 1300 Indians, and that the place was well provided with ammunition, provisions and military stores. This information, dissipating every prospect of success, the expedition was consequently abandoned.

3. During these transactions the French under Montcalm were by no means inactive. As early as

the 20th of March, they made an attempt to take fort William Henry by surprise, but their object was defeated by the bravery of the garrison, and several of their number slain. They, however, succeeded in burning three sloops, a large number of batteaux, three store houses, and indeed every thing of value, which was not protected by the guns of the fort.

4. At the opening of the spring, Col Parker was sent down the lake, with a detachment of about 400 men, to attack the enemy's advanced guard at Ticonderoga, but he was decoyed in an ambuscade of French and Indians, who fell upon him with such impetuosity and success, that only two officers and 70 privates of his number escaped. Encouraged by this success, Montcalm resolved once more to attempt the reduction of fort William Henry. For this purpose he collected, at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, all his forces, amounting to about 10,000 men, and consisting of regulars, Canadians and Indians.

5. General Webb, upon whom the command of the English forces devolved on the departure of Lord Loudon, wishing to examine the works at lake George, and to ascertain the force and condition of the enemy at their posts on lake Champlain, selected Major Putnam with 200 men to escort him to fort William Henry. Soon after their arrival Putnam set out with 18 men in three boats for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy at Ticonderoga; but before he reached the northwest bay, he discovered a body of men on an island, and leaving two of his boats to fish he hastened back in the other with the information.

6. He communicated the intelligence to Webb only, who, with much reluctance, permitted Putnam to return for the purpose of making further discoveries and of bringing off the boats. In accomplishing this business he was observed and pursued by the enemy and, although at times nearly surrounded by their canoes, effected his retreat to the fort. These transactions were carefully concealed from the garrison

by an injunction of secrecy from Webb, who ordered Putnam to prepare immediately to escort him back to fort Edward. Putnam, wishing to be engaged in surprising the enemy, observed "he hoped his excellency did not intend to neglect so fair an opportunity of giving battle, should the enemy presume to land." To which the general coldly replied "what do you think we should do here."

7. The next day Webb returned to fort Edward, and the day following, Col Monro was sent with his regiment to reinforce the garrison at lake George. The day after his arrival the French and Indians under Montcalm appeared upon the lake, effected a landing with but little opposition, and immediately laid siege to the fort. Montcalm, at the same time, sent a letter to Monro, stating that he felt himself bound in humanity to urge the English commander to surrender before any of the Indians were slain and their savage temper further inflamed by a resistance, which would be unavailing. Monro replied that as the fortress had been entrusted to him, both his honor and his duty required him to defend it to the last extremity.

8. The garrison amounting to about 2,500 men, made a gallant defence, while Monro, aware of his danger, sent frequent expresses to fort Edward for succor. But Webb remained inactive and apparently indifferent during these alarming transactions. On the 8th or 9th day of the siege, Gen. Johnson was permitted to set out for the relief of fort William Henry with the provincial regiments and Putnam's rangers; but he had proceeded only three miles, when he received orders from Webb for his immediate return. Webb then wrote to Monro that he could afford him no assistance, and advised him to surrender on the best terms he could obtain.

9. Monro and his garrison, in hourly expectation of relief from fort Edward defended themselves with much spirit and resolution, till the 9th of August,

when their works having become much injured and their ammunition nearly expended, all their hopes of holding out were at once blasted by the reception of Webb's letter, which Montcalm had intercepted, and now sent in with further proposals for a surrender of the fort. Articles of capitulation were therefore agreed upon and signed by Montcalm and Monro, by which it was stipulated, that the garrison should march out with their arms and baggage—should be escorted to fort Edward by a detachment of French troops, and should not serve against the French for the term of 18 months—that the works and all warlike stores should be delivered to the French—and that the sick and wounded of the garrison should remain under the protection of Montcalm and should be permitted to return as soon as they were recovered.

10. After the capitulation no further troubles were apprehended. But the garrison had no sooner marched out of the fort, than a scene of perfidy and barbarity began to be witnessed, which it is impossible for language to describe. Wholly regardless of the articles of capitulation, the Indians attached to the French army, fell upon the defenceless soldiers, plundering and murdering all who came in their way. The French were idle spectators of this bloody scene; nor could all the entreaties of Col Monro persuade them to furnish the escort, as stipulated in the articles of capitulation. On this fatal day about 1500 of the English were either murdered by the savages or carried by them into captivity, never to return.

11. The day following these horrid transactions, Major Putnam was despatched from fort Edward with his rangers, to watch the motions of the enemy. He reached lake George just after the rear of the enemy had left the shore, and awful indeed was the scene which presented itself. "The fort was entirely demolished, the barracks, out houses, and buildings were a heap of ruins—the cannon, stores, boats and vessels were all carried away. The fires were still

burning—the smoke and stench, offensive and suffocating. Innumerable fragments of human skulls and bones, and carcasses half consumed, were still frying and broiling in the decaying fires. Dead bodies, mangled with scalping knives and tomahawks, in all the wantonness of Indian fierceness and barbarity, were every where to be seen. More than 100 women, butchered and shockingly mangled, lay upon the ground, still weltering in their gore. Devastation, barbarity and horror every where appeared; and the spectacle presented was too diabolical and awful either to be endured or described.”

12. The French satisfied with their success, retired to their works at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and nothing further was effected in this quarter worthy of notice, either by the French or English, during the remainder of the year; and thus terminated the campaign of 1757, in which the English suffered exceedingly in lives and property and gained nothing. This want of success was doubtless owing, in some measure to the inefficiency and ignorance of the British ministry in relation to American affairs, but is principally to be attributed to the want of ability and energy in the generals to whom the prosecution of the war was intrusted.

SECTION VII.

French and English Colonies—Events of 1758. Capture of Louisburg—Abercrombie defeated—Fort Frontenac and Du Quesne taken.

1. The repeated failure of the British arms in America, having created much dissatisfaction both at home and in the colonies, a change of ministry was found to be indispensable, in order to secure the pub-

lic confidence and revive the drooping spirits of the nation ; and this was effectually done by the appointment of William Pitt one of the secretaries of state. From this time the British affairs in America assumed a more favorable aspect. Instead of defeat and disgrace, victory and triumph now usually attended the English arms. Measures were concerted with wisdom and prudence and executed with promptness and vigor.

2. In planning the campaign of 1758, it was determined that the French settlements should be attacked upon several different points at the same time. Twelve thousand troops were to attempt the reduction of Louisburg in the island of Cape Breton, 16,000 were to proceed against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and 8,000 against Du Quesne ; and the several American colonies were called upon to furnish troops, and to make all the exertions in their power to aid and facilitate these expeditions.

3. General Amherst took command of the expedition against Louisburg, assisted by Generals Wolfe, Whitmore and Lawrence and by Admiral Boscawen, who commanded the fleet. The fleet, consisting of 157 sail and having the troops on board, sailed from Halifax in Nova Scotia, on the 28th of May, and on the 2nd day of June, anchored about seven miles west of Louisburg. On the 8th a landing was effected under the gallant Wolfe, and in a few days the place was completely invested. The garrison consisted of upwards of 3,000 men, mostly regulars, and the harbor was defended by six ships of the line and five frigates, all under the command of chevalier Drucour. Amherst proceeded with caution, but with such vigor that the French ships were soon destroyed, and the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war on the 26th of July.

4. The expedition against the French posts on lake Champlain, devolved upon General Abercrombie. Having assembled about 7,000 regular and 9,000 pro

vincial troops, with a fine train of artillery and the necessary military stores, he, on the 5th of July, embarked his army at fort William Henry, on board 900 batteaux and 135 whale boats, and the next morning landed, without opposition, near the north end of lake George. Forming his men into three columns he moved forward towards the enemy, whose advanced party, consisting of one battalion, lay encamped behind a breast-work of logs. On the approach of the English, they set fire to their breast-work and tents and retreated with precipitation. The English continued to advance, but were soon embarrassed and thrown into some disorder by the thickness of the wood.

5. Lord Howe was in the front of the centre column with Major Putnam, when a skirmish commenced on the left with the party of the enemy which had retreated from the breast-work. One hundred men immediately filed off under Putnam and Howe, and they soon fell in with the enemy, whose first fire proved fatal to his lordship. Howe had made himself the idol of the army by his affability and virtues, and his fall animated Putnam and his party to avenge his death. They cut their way through the enemy, and, being joined by another party of the English, slew about 300 of the French and took 148 prisoners. But the English columns being broken and embarrassed by the thickness of the wood, Abercrombie deemed it advisable to march back to the place where they had landed in the morning, rather than pass the night where they were. The next day Col Bradstreet, with a detachment of the army, took possession of the saw mills without opposition, and the general once more advanced upon the enemy.

6. The fort at Ticonderoga was very favorably situated for defence. It was surrounded on three sides by water, and about half the other side was protected by a deep swamp, while the line of defence was completed by the erection of a breast-work nine feet high on the only assailable ground. The ground

before the breast-work was covered with felled trees and with bushes, arranged with a view to impede the approach of the English. The French garrison consisted of 6,000 men and a reinforcement of 3,000 troops under M. de Levy, was expected soon to join them.

7. Abercrombie, wishing to get possession of the fort before the garrison should be augmented by the expected reinforcement, sent forward his engineer to reconnoiter the works, who reported that the breast-work was unfinished and that he believed the place might be immediately assaulted by musketry with a fair prospect of success. The general confiding in this intelligence, marched forward to the attack in regular order and with undaunted firmness. The French opened upon them a well directed fire from their artillery, notwithstanding which, the English moved forward undismayed till they became entangled and stopped by the timber which had been felled to impeded their approach. For four hours they strove to cut, with their swords, their way to the breast-work through the limbs and bushes, but without success. All this time they were exposed to the deadly fire of the enemy, who were completely sheltered by their breast-work. Their numbers continually diminishing and no prospect of success appearing, Abercrombie thought it expedient to retreat, and accordingly led back his army to their former encampment without being pursued or molested by the enemy.

8. The English lost in this encounter, 18,00 men, killed and wounded, and 2,500 stand of arms. Every part of the army engaged behaved with coolness and intrepidity, but the loss fell heaviest on a highland regiment commanded by Lord Murray. Of this regiment one half of the privates and 25 officers were either slain on the spot or severely wounded. So severe a loss determined the commander-in-chief to withdraw from the scene of carnage, and he hastened back with his shattered army to the encampment at

lake George, from whence he sent off all the wounded, who could be safely removed, to fort Edward and Albany.

9. How far the conduct of General Abercrombie is reprehensible in this unfortunate affair, it is difficult now to determine. The censure of mankind almost always follows misfortune; and so it was in the present case. The attempt to take the fort by storm was considered a rash and imprudent measure—and the retreat was condemned as pusillanimous and unnecessary. And indeed with troops, who had manifested such courage and intrepidity in the assault, it is very difficult to conceive what could have prevented the commencement of a regular siege.

10. Notwithstanding his defeat and mortification, Abercrombie did not suffer his army to remain inactive. He dispatched General Stanwix to erect a fort at the carrying place between the Mohawk and Onondaga rivers; and Col Bradstreet, with 3,000 men, mostly provincials, was ordered to proceed against fort Frontenac, situated at the outlet of lake Ontario. Bradstreet landed his men within one mile of the fort, before the enemy had any intelligence of his approach and the garrison, consisting of only 110 Frenchmen, with a few Indians, could do no other than surrender at discretion. In the fort were found 60 cannon, 16 mortars, and small arms, military stores, merchandise and provisons in large quantities. He also captured all the enemy's shipping on the lake, consisting of nine armed vessels; and having destroyed them and the fort he returned to Oswego.

11. While these things were transacting General Forbes was making his advances towards fort Du Qusne of which he got possession on the 24th of November, the French having abandoned it and retreated down the Ohio river. Having repaired the works, he changed the name of the fort to Pittsburgh, in honor of William Pitt, the secretary of state who was then at the head of American affairs. Such were

the events of the year 1758. The British arms had every where been successful, excepting in the attack upon Ticonderoga, and the hopes and confidence of the public were every where revived. General Amherst, having left a strong garrison at Louisburg, returned to Boston. Thence he proceeded, about the middle of September, to Albany, with six regiments, and the remainder of the fall and winter were spent in concerting measures and making preparations for the campaign of the following year.

SECTION VIII.

French and English Colonies—Transactions of 1759 and 1760. Quebec taken—Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Niagara taken—Expedition against the St Francis Indians—Montreal and Canada surrender.

1. The advantage obtained over the French in the preceding campaign gave the British Minister reason to hope this year to complete the conquest of Canada. Three expeditions were therefore projected, one against Quebec under the command of Gen. Wolfe, one against the forts on lake Champlain, under Gen. Amherst, who was commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, and one against the French fort at Niagara, to be conducted by Gen. Prideaux and Sir William Johnson. It was believed that while these generals were making their attacks on different points, they would assist each other, by dividing the forces and embarrassing the councils of the enemy.

2. The conquest of Quebec was looked upon as the most important and the most difficult object of the campaign. The city was strongly fortified by nature and art, formidable on account of the number and bravery of its inhabitants, and in a situation, in

which it could not be much injured by a fleet, or be approached but with extreme difficulty and hazard by land. As soon as the season would permit, Wolfe embarked his troops at Louisburg, sailed up the St Lawrence and in the latter part of June landed his whole army on the island of Orleans a little below Quebec, without difficulty or opposition.

3. Quebec was commanded by Montcalm, an able and experienced general; and was defended by works which were deemed impregnable, and by an army much more numerous than that of the English. Wolfe continued his offensive operations without a prospect of success till the beginning of September, when it was resolved, if possible, to effect a landing above the city, and bring the enemy to a general engagement. The fleet, with the army on board, moved up the river, under Admiral Saunders, and effected a landing on the 12th of September a little after midnight. Wolfe put himself at the head of the first party, ascended the heights, and drew up his men in order as fast as they arrived.

4. Montcalm no sooner learned that the British had gained the heights of Abraham, than he abandoned his strong camp at Montmorenci, resolved to hazard an engagement. Both armies were soon drawn up in order of battle with their respective generals at their head. About 9 o'clock, the French army advanced, opening at the same time an irregular and ill directed fire. The fire of the English was reserved till the enemy had approached within 40 yards of their line, when it was opened with effect and kept up with much spirit. Both generals were determined to conquer or die, and for a while the conflict was dreadful. But the English advanced with such firmness and intrepidity, that the French were unable to stand, and were soon defeated and dispersed or made prisoners.

5. Wolfe and Montcalm both fell at the head of their respective armies. The loss of the French in

this battle was 500 slain, and about 1000 prisoners. The English had 50 killed, including 9 officers, and 500 wounded. The French, disheartened by their losses, were thrown into great confusion ; and on the 18th of September, the remainder of the French troops and the city of Quebec were surrendered into the hands of the English.

6. While these things were transacting at Quebec, General Amherst was cautiously advancing along lake Champlain. He arrived in the vicinity of Ticonderoga in the latter part of July, without opposition, and immediately began to make preparations for reducing the fortress by a regular siege. The enemy, at first, manifested a disposition to make a resolute stand, but soon dispaired of holding out against the cautious advances of Amherst, and on the 27th of July, having dismantled the fortress, they abandoned it, and repaired to Crown Point.

7. The next day Amherst took possession of the fort, and began immediately to repair and enlarge it, and to make preparations for proceeding against Crown Point. He had scouting parties continually employed to watch the motions of the enemy, one of which returned to the English camp on the first of August with intelligence that the French had abandoned Crown Point also, and had gone down the lake without destroying their works. A body of rangers was immediately dispatched to take possession of the place and on the 4th of August the whole army moved forward to Crown Point, where they also enlarged and strengthened the fortifications.

8. The French troops retired to the isle Aux Noix, which is situated at the north end of the lake, and effectually commands the passage into Canada in this quarter. Here they collected their forces, to the amount of 3500, well provided with artillery, and resolved to make a stand against the English. The French having four vessels on the lake, mounted with cannon, Amherst thought it not advisable to proceed further,

till he had provided a superior naval force. In the mean time he was determined that the Indians should feel his resentment for their repeated depredations upon the English colonies. Maj. Rogers, a brave and experienced officer from New Hampshire, was therefore selected to conduct an expedition against the St Francis Indians, whose village was situated on the south side of the St. Lawrence not far from Three Rivers. These Indians were noted for their massacres and cruelties to the English.

9. Rogers embarked at Crown Point, on the 12th of September, with 200 men, and proceeded down the lake in batteaux. On the fifth day after he set out, while encamped on the eastern shore of the lake, a keg of gunpowder accidentally exploded, by which a captain and several men were wounded, who were sent back to Crown Point, with a party to attend them. This event reduced Rogers' force to 142 men. With these he moved forward to Missisco bay, where he concealed his boats among some bushes which hung over one of the streams, and left in them provisions sufficient to carry them back to Crown Point.

10. Having left two of his rangers to watch the boats, Rogers advanced into the wilderness ; but, the second evening after he left the bay, he was overtaken by his trusty rangers, and informed that a party of 400 French and Indians had discovered the boats and sent them away with 50 men, and that the remainder were in pursuit of the English. Rogers kept this intelligence to himself but dispatched a Lieutenant and eight men, with the two rangers, to Crown Point, to inform Gen. Amherst of what had taken place, and request him to send provisions to Coos on Connecticut river, by which route he intended to return.

11. Rogers now determined to outmarch the enemy, and pushed onward towards St Francis with the utmost expedition. He came in sight of the village on the evening of the 4th of October, and, leaving his men to refresh themselves, he dressed himself in

the Indian garb, and went forward to reconnoiter the town. He found the Indians engaged in a grand dance, without apprehensions of danger, and, returning about one o'clock, he led forward his men, within 500 yards of the town. At four o'clock the dance was ended and the Indians retired to rest.

12. Having posted his men in the most favorable situation, at day break Rogers commenced the assault. The place was completely surprised. The Indian method of slaughter was adopted.—Wherever the savages were found, without regard to age or sex, they were slain without distinction and without mercy. As the light appeared the ferocity of the provincials was increased by discovering the scalps of several hundred of their countrymen suspended on poles and waving in the air. They were determined to revenge the blood of their friends and relations and spared no pains completely to destroy the village and its inhabitants. Of the 300 souls, which the village contained, 200 were slain on the spot, and 20 taken prisoners. The English lost only one killed and six slightly wounded.

13. Having reduced the village to ashes, and refreshed his men, Rogers set out on his return, at 8 o'clock in the morning, with the addition of five English captives, whom he had retaken, and such articles of plunder as he could easily carry away. To avoid his pursuers he proceeded up the river St Francis, and directed his course toward Coos on the Connecticut. On his march he was several times attacked in the rear and lost seven men, but forming an ambuscade on his own track, he at length fell upon the enemy with such success as to put an end to further annoyance or pursuit.

14. In the mean time, by order of Gen. Amherst, Samuel Stevens and three others proceeded from Charlestown up Connecticut river, with two canoes, loaded with provisions. They landed on Round island, at the mouth of Passumpsuc river, where they encamp-

ed for the night; but in the morning, hearing the report of guns and supposing Indians to be in the vicinity, they were so terrified, that they reloaded their provisions and hastened back to Charlestown. Rogers was at this time encamped a few miles up the Passumpsuc. About noon he reached the mouth of that river, and, observing fire on the island, he made a raft and passed over to it; but to his surprise and disappointment, no provisions had been left. His men, already reduced to a state of starvation, were so disheartened by this discovery that 36 of them died before the next day. An Indian was then cut to pieces and divided among the survivors; and the next day Rogers gave up the command of his men and told them to take care of themselves. Some were lost in the woods, but Rogers and most of his party after almost incredible hardships, succeeded in reaching Charlestown.

15. While Rogers was humbling the Indians, Amherst was preparing a naval force to attack the enemy at the Isle Aux Noix. This being in readiness, he proceeded down the lake in the beginning of October; but, the season being far advanced and the weather becoming tempestuous, the expedition was abandoned, and he returned to Crown Point, after having taken, or destroyed, most of the enemy's shipping. Here Amherst spent the remainder of the autumn in enlarging the works and putting every thing in readiness for another campaign.

16. Gen. Prideaux had proceeded to Niagara in the beginning of summer, and invested the fort about the middle of July; but, being unfortunately killed on the 20th of that month, the command devolved upon Sir William Johnson. Johnson prosecuted the siege with the greatest vigor, and, on the morning of the 24th of July, intercepted and defeated, after a severe conflict, a body of 1200 French and some Indians, who were marching to the relief of the garrison. This battle was fought in sight of the fort, and, in the

evening of the same day, the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

17. Montreal was now the only place of much strength, or consequence, in possession of the French ; and towards this point, at the opening of the campaign of 1760, the English concentrated all their efforts. It was resolved that, while Gen. Murray, with the English forces at Quebec, proceeded up the St Lawrence, Col Haviland should lead on the forces from lake Champlain, and Gen. Amherst should approach Montreal with a considerable force by the way of lake Ontario. These armies moved forward with but little opposition, and, what is remarkable, without any knowledge of each others' progress, they all arrived at Montreal on the 6th and 7th of September, within two days of each other.

18. Amherst began immediately to prepare for laying siege to the city, and was getting on his artillery for that purpose, when he received a flag of truce from Vaudrieul, the French commander, who sent two officers, demanding proposals for a capitulation. Amherst stated his terms, to which the French finally submitted, and, on the 8th of September, 1760, the whole province of Canada was surrendered to the British ; and by the treaty of peace signed at Paris, February 10, 1763, this province was formally ceded to the king of Great Britain.

HISTORY OF VERMONT.

CHAPTER II.

SETTLEMENT AND CONTROVERSY WITH NEW YORK.

SECTION I.

Vermont previous to the year 1760.

1. During the Colonial and Indian wars, the territory of Vermont, as already remarked, was the great thoroughfare, through which most of their expeditions proceeded, and on which many of their battles were fought. Being situated nearly at an equal distance from the French on the one hand and the English on the other, it was constantly exposed to the depredations of both, and became the favorite lurking place of their Indian allies. On this account the settlement of the country had long been regarded as dangerous and impracticable: nor was it until after the complete conquest of Canada by the English in 1760, that any considerable settlements were made. Several places, it is true, had been previously occupied both by the French and English; but they are rather to be regarded as military posts than actual settlements.

2. The first civilized establishment within the pre-

sent limits of Vermont, was made in 1724, by the erection of fort Dummer, in the southeastern corner of the township of Brattleborough. The whole of this tract of country had previously, from time immemorial, been in possession of the native Indians. But it does not appear, that, subsequent to the discovery of this territory by Champlain in 1609, the natives had ever resided here in very considerable numbers. The western parts, including lake Champlain, were claimed by the Iroquois, the northeastern parts and lake Memphremagog, by the St Francis and other Canadian tribes, and the southeastern parts on Connecticut river were regarded as belonging to the natives in the neighborhood of Massachusetts Bay. Some establishments were, at times, made upon the shores of these waters by these several tribes, but it appears that this territory was rather regarded by them as a hunting ground than a permanent residence.

3. Although this tract of country was in some parts mountainous and unproductive, the forests were, in general, well stored with game, and the lakes, rivers and smaller streams abounded in excellent fish, which might have afforded subsistence to a very considerable population in the savage state. We must therefore look to some other cause for the scantiness of the population of these regions, than the incapacity of the country to support it; and this is undoubtedly to be found in its local situation with respect to the various Indian nations. Lying on the frontier of several powerful tribes who were incessantly at war with each other, it became the bloody theatre of their battles and was constantly exposed to hostile invasions from every quarter. Hence we perceive that the same causes prevented its becoming a permanent residence of the Indians in earlier times, which operated during the colonial wars to prevent its being settled by the French and English.

4. As early as the year 1752, it was proposed by the English to lay out a township and commence a

settlement at Coos, on the west side of Connecticut river, where the township of Newbury in this state now lies; and a party proceeded up the river for that purpose. But before they had completed their survey, they were observed by a party of St Francis Indians, who, perceiving their design, forbade their proceeding and compelled them to return without accomplishing their object. The Indians at the same time sent a message to the commander of the fort at Charlestown, N. H. stating to him in the most positive terms that they should not suffer the English to settle at Coos; and so much was the resentment of the Indians dreaded at this early period, that the undertaking was immediately relinquished.

5. Soon after the erection of fort Dummer, several block-houses were built for the protection of the settlers in that part of Hinsdale, N. H. which was situated on the west side of the Connecticut, and which is now called Vernon; and, before the year 1754, settlements had been commenced in Vermont as far up the Connecticut as Westminster and Rockingham. But their advancement was now stopped by the breaking out of what was called the French War, which continued, as related in the preceding chapter, till the final conquest of Canada in 1760. During this war, these feeble settlements were continually harrassed and annoyed by the French and Indians. The inhabitants could not cultivate their fields without being every moment exposed to the deadly fire of a lurking foe. Their block-houses were frequently surprised and taken, and the inhabitants either massacred, or carried into captivity.

6. No permanent settlement was effected in Vermont on the west side of the Green Mountains, till after the conquest of Canada by the English. When the French proceeded up lake Champlain and erected their fortress at Crown Point, in 1731, they began a settlement at the same time on the east side of the

lake in the present township of Addison. This settlement was, however, broken up and all the settlers retired, with the French garrison, into Canada, before Gen. Amherst in 1759.

7. Such was the original condition of Vermont, and such were the establishments made within its limits previous to the year 1760. No permanent settlements had been made, at the close of this period, except upon the banks of Connecticut river, in the present county of Windham, and here the settlers were few and scattered, probably not amounting in the whole to more than two or three hundred. But in their expeditions against the French, the English colonists had made themselves acquainted with the fertility and value of the lands lying between Connecticut river and lake Champlain, and the conquest of Canada having now removed the difficulty and danger of settling them, swarms of adventurers began to emigrate hither, and from the year 1760, the population of Vermont began to increase with considerable rapidity.

SECTION II.

Controversy between New Hampshire and New York, respecting the territory of Vermont—from 1749 to 1764.

1. When the English commenced their establishment at fort Dummer, that fort was supposed to lie within the limits of Massachusetts, and the settlements in that vicinity were first made under grants from that provincial government. But after a long and tedious controversy, between Massachusetts and New Hampshire respecting their division line, king George II. finally decreed, on the 5th of March, 1740, that the northern boundary of the province of Massachu-

setts, be a similar curve line, pursuing the course of the Merimac river, at three miles distant on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic ocean, and ending at a point due north of Patucket falls; and a straight line drawn from thence due west until it meets his Majesty's other governments.

2. This line was surveyed by Richard Hazen, in 1741, when fort Dummer was found to lie beyond the limits of Massachusetts to the north; and, as the king of Great Britain repeatedly recommended to the assembly of New Hampshire to make provision for its support, it was generally supposed to have fallen within the jurisdiction of that province, and, being situated on the west side of the Connecticut, it was supposed that New Hampshire extended as far westward as Massachusetts; that is, to a line twenty miles east of Hudson's river.

3. In the year 1741, Benning Wentworth was commissioned governor of the province of New Hampshire. On the 3d of January, 1749, he made a grant of a township of land six miles square, situated, as he conceived, on the western border of New Hampshire, being twenty miles east of the Hudson and six miles north of Massachusetts line. This township, in allusion to his own name, he called Bennington. About the same time, a correspondence was opened between him and the governor of the province of New York, in which were urged their respective titles to the lands on the west side of Connecticut river; yet without regard to these interfering claims, Wentworth proceeded to make further grants.

4. These grants had amounted to 16 townships in 1754, but, this year, hostilities were commenced between the French and English colonies, which put a stop to further applications and grants till the close of the war, in 1760. During this war, the New England troops opened a road from Charlestown in New Hampshire to Crown Point, and by frequently passing through these lands, became well acquainted with

their fertility and value ; and the conquest of Canada having finally removed the danger of settling in this part of the country, these lands were now eagerly sought by adventurers and speculators.

5. The governor of New Hampshire, by advice of his council, now ordered a survey to be made of Connecticut river for sixty miles, and three tiers of townships to be laid out on each side. As the applications for lands still increased, further surveys were ordered to be made, and so numerous were the applications, that during the year 1761, no less than sixty townships of six miles square were granted on the west side of Connecticut river. The whole number of grants, in one or two years more, had amounted to one hundred and thirty eight. Their extent was from Connecticut on the east to what was esteemed twenty miles east of Hudson river, so far as that river extended to the northward, and after that as far westward as lake Champlain.

6. By the fees and other emoluments, which Wentworth received in return for these grants, and by reserving five hundred acres in each township for himself, he was evidently accumulating a large fortune. The government of New York, wishing to have the profits of these lands, became alarmed at the proceedings of the governor of New Hampshire and determined to check them. For this purpose Mr Colden, lieutenant governor of New York, on the 28th of December, 1763, issued a proclamation, in which he recited the grants made by Charles II. to the Duke of York, in 1664, and in 1674, which embraced among other parts "all the lands from the west side of Connecticut river to the east side of Delaware bay." Founding his claim upon this grant, he ordered the sheriff of the county of Albany to make returns of the names of all persons who had taken possession of lands on the west side of the Connecticut, under titles derived from the government of New Hampshire.

7. To prevent the effects which this proclamation was calculated to produce, and to inspire confidence in the validity of the New Hampshire grants, the governor of New Hampshire, on his part, put forth a counter proclamation, on the 13th of March, 1764, in which he declared that the grant to the Duke of York was obsolete;—that New Hampshire extended as far west as Massachusetts and Connecticut, and that the grants made by New Hampshire would be confirmed by the crown, if the jurisdiction should be altered. He exhorted the settlers to be industrious and diligent in cultivating their lands, and not to be intimidated by the threatenings of New York. He required all the civil officers to exercise jurisdiction as far west as grants had been made, and to punish all disturbers of the peace. This proclamation served to quiet the minds of the settlers. Having purchased their lands under a charter from a royal governor, and after such assurances from him, they had no idea that a controversy between the two provinces, respecting the extent of the jurisdiction, would ever effect the validity of their titles.

8. New York had hitherto founded her claim to the lands in question upon the grant to the Duke of York, but choosing no longer to rely on so precarious a tenure, application was now made to the crown for a confirmation of their claims. This application was supported by a petition, *purporting* to be signed by a great number of the settlers on the New Hampshire grants, representing that it would be for their advantage to be annexed to the colony of New York, and praying that the western bank of Connecticut river might be established, as the eastern boundary of that province. In consequence of this petition and application of the government of New York, his Majesty, on the 20th of July, 1764, ordered that “the western bank of Connecticut river, from where it enters the province of Massachusetts bay, as far north as the 45th degree of north latitude, be the boundary line be-

tween the said provinces of New Hampshire and New York." This determination does not appear to be founded on any previous grant, but was a decision which the wishes and convenience of the people were supposed to demand.

9. Surprised as were the settlers on the New Hampshire grants at this order, it produced in them no serious alarm. They regarded it as merely extending the jurisdiction of New York, in future, over their territory. To this jurisdiction they were willing to submit; but they had no apprehension that it could, in any way, affect their title to the lands upon which they had settled. Having purchased and paid for them, and obtained deeds of the same under grants from the crown, they could not imagine by what perversion of justice they could be compelled, by the same authority, to re-purchase their lands or abandon them. The governor of New Hampshire, at first, remonstrated against this change of jurisdiction; but was, at length, induced to abandon the contest, and issued a proclamation recommending to the proprietors and settlers, due obedience to the authority and laws of the colony of New York.

SECTION III.

Controversy with New York from 1764 to 1773.

1. The royal decree, by which the division line between New Hampshire and New York was established, was regarded very differently by the different parties concerned. The settlers on the New Hampshire grants, considered, that it only placed them *hereafter* under the jurisdiction of New York, and to this they were willing to submit; but they had no idea that their titles to their lands, or that any past transactions, could be affected by it. Had the gov-

ernment of New York given the royal decision the same interpretation, no controversy would ever have arisen. The settlers would have acknowledged its jurisdiction and submitted to its authority without a murmur. But that government gave the decision a very different construction. It contended that the order had a *retrospective* operation, and decided, not only what should thereafter be, but what had always been, the eastern limit of New York, and consequently, that the grants made by New Hampshire were illegal and void.

2. In this state of things the government of New York proceeded to extend its jurisdiction over the New Hampshire grants. The territory was divided into four counties, and courts of justice were established in each. The settlers were called upon to surrender their charters and re-purchase their lands under grants from New York. Some of them complied with this order, but most of them peremptorily refused. The lands of those who did not comply, were therefore granted to others, in whose names actions of ejectment were commenced in the courts at Albany, and judgments invariably obtained against the settlers and original proprietors.

3. The settlers soon found that they had nothing to hope from the customary forms of law, and therefore determined upon resistance to the unjust and arbitrary decisions of the court, till his Majesty's pleasure should be further known. Having fairly purchased their lands of one royal governor they were determined, not willingly to submit and re-purchase them, at an exorbitant price, of another; and when the executive officers of New York came to eject the inhabitants from their possessions, they met with avowed opposition, and were not suffered to proceed in the execution of their business.

4. For the purpose of rendering their resistance more effectual, various associations were formed among the settlers; and, at length, a convention of

representatives from the several towns on the west side of the mountains, was called. This convention, after mature deliberation, appointed Samuel Robinson of Bennington, an agent to represent, to the Court of Great Britain, the grievances of the settlers, and to obtain, if possible, a confirmation of the New Hampshire grants. The actions of ejectment were, however, still going on in the courts at Albany, but no attention was paid to them by the settlers, nor was any defence made; but the settlers were very careful that none of the decisions of the court should be carried into execution.

5. In consequence of the representations made by Mr Robinson at the British Court, his Majesty issued a special order, prohibiting the governor of New York, upon pain of his Majesty's highest displeasure, from making any further grants whosoever of the lands in question, till his Majesty's further pleasure should be known concerning the same. But, notwithstanding this explicit prohibition, the governor of New York continued to make grants, and writs of ejectment continued to be issued. About this time, a convention of the settlers was held at Bennington, in which it was "Resolved to support their rights and property which they possessed under the New Hampshire grants, against the usurpation and unjust claims of the governor and council of New York, *by force*, as law and justice were denied them."

6. A spirited and determined resistance to the civil officers of New York, followed the adoption of this resolution, and, in consequence, several of the settlers were indicted as rioters. But the officers sent to apprehend them, says a writer of that period, "were seized by the people and severely chastised with *twigs of the wilderness*." A military association was now formed, of which Ethan Allen was appointed Colonel Commandant, and Seth Warner, Remember Barker, Robert Cockran, Gideon Warner, and

some others were appointed captains. Committees of safety were likewise appointed in several of the towns on the west side of the Green Mountains.

7. On the other hand, the militia were ordered out to assist the sheriff in the execution of his office. But the militia of the neighborhood were rather in sentiment with the settlers, and had no disposition to hazard their lives for the emolument of a few speculators; and the sheriff found his power as unavailing with the *posse comitatus*, as without them; for upon the appearance of an armed opposition, he found it impossible to keep the militia together. While affairs were in this state, the governor of New York issued a proclamation, offering a reward of £150 for the apprehension of Ethan Allen, and £50 each, for Seth Warner and five others. Allen and the other prescribed persons, in their turn, issued a proclamation offering five pounds for apprehending and delivering to any officer of the *Green Mountain Boys*, the attorney General of the colony of New York.

8. In 1772 the governor of New York made an attempt to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants of the New Hampshire grants, and with that view wrote to the Rev. Mr Dewy of Bennington, and to the inhabitants of Bennington and the adjacent country, inviting them to lay before him the causes of their illegal proceedings. He assured them that, both he and the council, were disposed to give them such relief as the situation and circumstances of the people would justify, and he engaged full security and protection to any persons they might choose to send to New York on that business, excepting Allen, Warner and three others.

9. Answers were written to this communication of Gov. Tryon, by the inhabitants, and by the excepted persons, in which they gave an explanation of their conduct, and of the principles upon which they acted. They also appointed Capt. Stephen Fay and Mr Jarias Fay to wait upon the governor with their communications, and negotiate business on the

part of the settlers. These agents were kindly received by his Excellency, and had their grievances laid before the council. The council reported in their favor, and recommended that his Excellency afford all the relief in his power, by suspending, until his Majesty's pleasure should be known, all prosecutions in behalf of the crown, on account of crimes with which the settlers stood charged. They further recommended that the owners of disputed lands, claimed under grants from New York, should suspend, during the same period, all civil suits concerning the lands in question.

10. The report was approved by the governor and communicated to the inhabitants of Bennington and the vicinity. But while this business was transacting, the Green Mountain Boys proceeded to dispossess certain settlers upon Otter Creek, who claimed their lands under titles derived from New York; in consequence of which the overnor again addressed a letter to the inhabitants requiring the lands and tenements to be restored forthwith to the dispossessed persons. An answer to this letter was returned by a convention of delegates from the principal towns on the west side of the mountains held at Manchester, August 27th, 1772, in which they gave a minute and full account of their transactions in dispossessing the settlers on Otter Creek and contended that their proceedings were justifiable from the circumstances of the case. The inhabitants requested his Excellency to return an answer to their communication, but it does not appear that he saw fit to comply, and here the negotiation probably ended.

SECTION IV.

Character of the settlers on the New Hampshire grants and their modes of punishment.

1. The settlers on the New Hampshire grants were a brave, hardy, but uncultivated race of men. They knew little of the etiquette of refined society, were blessed with few of the advantages of education, and were destitute of the elegancies, and in most cases of the common conveniences of life. They were sensible that they must rely upon the labor of their own hands for their daily subsistence, and for the accumulation of property. They possessed minds which were naturally strong and active, and they were aroused to the exercise of their highest energies by the difficulties which they were compelled to encounter. The controversy in which they were engaged involved their dearest rights. On its issue depended not only their titles to their possessions, but, in many cases, their personal liberty and safety. Though unskilled in the rules of logic, their reasoning was strong and conclusive, and they possessed the courage and perseverance necessary for carrying their decisions into execution.

2. We have already observed that, at the head of the opposition to the proceedings of New York, stood Ethan Allen, a man obviously fitted by nature for the circumstances and exigencies of the times. Bold, ardent and unyielding, he possessed an unusual degree of vigor both of body and mind, and an unlimited confidence in his own abilities. With these qualifications, the then existing state of the settlement rendered him peculiarly fitted to become a prominent and successful leader. During the progress of the controversy, Allen wrote and dispersed several pamphlets, in which he exhibited, in

a manner peculiar to himself, and well suited to the state of public feeling, the injustice and cruelty of the claims and proceedings of New York. And although these pamphlets are unworthy of notice as literary productions, yet, they were at the time extensively circulated, and contributed much to inform the minds, arouse the zeal, and unite the efforts of the settlers.

3. The uncultivated roughness of Allen's temper and manners were well suited to give a just description of the views and proceedings of a band of speculating and unprincipled land jobbers. His method of writing was likewise well adapted to the condition and feelings of the settlers, and probably exerted a greater influence over their opinions and conduct, than the same sentiments would have done clothed in the chaste style of classic elegance. Nor did it differ greatly in style, or literary merit, from the pamphlets which came from New York. But though Allen wrote with asperity and freedom, there was something generous and noble in his conduct. He refrained from every thing which had the appearance of meanness, injustice, cruelty or abuse towards those who fell into his power, and protested against the same in others.

4. Next to Allen, Seth Warner seems to have acted the most conspicuous part among the settlers. He, like Allen, was firm and resolute, fully determined that the decisions of New York against the settlers should never be carried into execution. But while Allen was daring and sometimes rash and imprudent, Warner was always cool, calm and comparatively, cautious. After Warner was proscribed as a rioter, an officer was sent from New York to apprehend him. He, considering it an affair of open hostility, defended himself against the officer, and in turn attacked, wounded and disarmed him; but, with the spirit and generosity of a soldier, he spared his life.

5. Notwithstanding the attempts which had been

made to arrest the progress of the controversy and the orders which had been received from the crown, it does not appear that the government of New York had, at any time, taken measures to prevent the location and settlement of lands under New York titles. The cause of contention therefore still remained. A reconciliation had been attempted, and its failure served to embitter the resentment of the contending parties, and to produce a state of hostility more decided and alarming.

6. It appears that committees were appointed in the several towns on the west side of the mountains, and that these committees met in convention, or general committee, as occasion required, to concert measures for the common defence. By this convention it had been decreed that no person should take grants, or confirmations of grants, under the government of New York. They also forbade "all the inhabitants in the district of the New Hampshire grants to hold, take, or accept any office of honor, or profit, under the colony of New York; and all civil and military officers, who had acted under the authority of the governor, or legislature of New York were required to suspend their functions on the pain of being *viewed*."

7. These decrees had all the force of law, and the infraction of them was always punished with exemplary severity. The punishment most frequently inflicted was the application of the "*beech seal*" to the naked back, and banishment from the grants. This mode of punishment derived its name from allusion to the great seal of the province of New Hampshire, which was affixed to the charters of the townships granted by the governor of that province, of which the *beech rod*, well laid upon the naked backs of the "*Yorkers*," and their adherents, was humorously considered a confirmation.

8. That the reader may have a just idea of the summary manner in which the convention and com-

mittees proceeded against those who violated their decrees, we will lay before them the sentence of Benjamin Hough, as a sample. It appears that the culprit had accepted the office of justice of the peace under the authority of New York, and had officiated in that capacity. Being arrested and brought before the committee of safety at Sunderland, he pleaded the jurisdiction and authority of New York, but was answered by the decree of the *convention*, which forbade all persons holding any office, civil, or military, under the colony of New York. The committee therefore in the presence of a large concourse of people pronounced upon him the following sentence, viz. "*That the prisoner be taken from the bar of this committee of safety and be tied to a tree, and there, on his naked back, receive one hundred stripes; his back being dressed, he should depart out of the district, and on return, to suffer death, unless by special leave of committee.*"

9. Although the application of the beech seal was the most common punishment, others were frequently resorted to. Some of these were in their nature trifling and puerile. The following may serve as a specimen. A gentleman of Arlington became a partisan of New York and spoke in reproachful terms of the convention and of the proceedings of the Green Mountain Boys. He advised the settlers to submit to New York, and re-purchase their lands from that government. Being requested to desist, and disregarding it, he was arrested and carried to the Green Mountain tavern in Bennington. The committee after hearing his defence ordered him "to be tied in an armed chair, and hoisted to the sign, (*a catamount's skin, stuffed, sitting upon the sign post twenty five feet from the ground with large teeth, grinning towards New York*), and there to hang two hours in sight of the people, as a punishment merited by his enmity to the rights and liberties of the inhabitants of the New Hampshire grants." This sentence was executed to

the no small merriment of a large concourse of people ; and when he was let down he was dismissed by the committee with the exhortation to "go and sin no more."

SECTION V.

Controversy with New York from 1773 to 1775—Minatory act of New York—Resolutions and remonstrance of the settlers.

1. The proceedings of the settlers on the New Hampshire grants against those who were sent to dispossess them of their lands, and their summary treatment of those whom they conceived to be enemies to their rights and liberties, were regarded by the government of New York, as open acts of treason and rebellion. They looked upon the Green Mountain Boys as a lawless banditti, and, confident in their own strength, and miscalculating the power, and resistance of a few determined spirits acting on the defensive, and driven to desperation, they resolved to bring them to merited punishment. For this purpose they proceeded to adopt measures "the most minatory and despotic of any thing which had ever appeared in the British Colonies."

2. A committee of the general assembly of New York, on the 5th day of February, 1774, passed several resolutions, expressive of their opinion of what they were pleased to call the lawless and riotous proceedings of the "Bennington Mob ;" and, among other things, they desired his Excellency, the governor to offer, by proclamation, a reward for apprehending and securing the ring leaders, in those transactions, in the jail at Albany. This committee also recommended that a law should be passed, the object of

which should be, more effectually “to suppress riotous and disorderly proceedings, and to bring offenders to condign punishment.”

3. A knowledge of the doings of this committee having reached the settlers, through the public prints, a general meeting of the committees of the several townships, was held at the house of Eliakim Wellers, in Manchester, on the first day of March, 1774, and afterwards by adjournment, at Jehial Hawley's, in Arlington, on the third Wednesday of the same month. At this meeting, was drawn up a sketch of the proceedings previous to this period, and, after recommending to the government of New York to wait the determination of his Majesty, before proceeding to further extremities, it was resolved, “that as a country, we will stand by and defend our friends and neighbors who are indicted at the expense of our lives and fortunes.” It was also resolved “that, for the future every necessary preparation be made, and that our inhabitants hold themselves in readiness, at a minute's warning, to aid and defend those friends of ours, who, for their activity in the great and general cause, are falsely denominated rioters.” It was, at the same time, agreed, that they should act only on the defensive, and should encourage the execution of the laws in civil cases, and also in criminal prosecutions “*that were so indeed.*”

4. While the convention of the New Hampshire grants was discussing and adopting these resolutions, the general assembly of New York was proceeding to carry into effect the resolutions of the 5th of February; and on the 9th of March, 1774, they enacted a law which put an end to all prospect of reconciliation. This extraordinary law, (which is of too great length to be inserted entire,) enacted, among other things equally sanguinary and despotic,—that if any person, or persons, oppose any civil officer of New York, in the discharge of his official duty, “or wilfully burn, or destroy, the grain, corn, or hay, of any other

persons being in any inclosure; or if any persons unlawfully, riotously and tumultuously assembled together to the disturbance of the public peace, shall, unlawfully and with force, demolish, or pull down, or begin to demolish, or pull down any dwelling-house, barn, stable, grist-mill, saw-mill, or out-house, within either of the said counties of Albany and Charlotte; that then each of said offences shall be adjudged felony, without benefit of clergy, and the offenders therein shall be adjudged felons, and shall suffer death, as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy."

5. It was made the duty of the governor to publish the names of such persons, in the public papers, as were indicted in either of the counties of Albany, or Charlotte, for any offence made capital by this or any other law, with an order in council commanding such offender, or offenders, to surrender themselves respectively, within the space of seventy days next after the publication thereof. This order was to be forwarded to the sheriffs and posted up in several public places. "And in case such offenders shall not respectively surrender themselves, he or they, so neglecting, or refusing, shall, from the day appointed for his surrendry, as aforesaid, be adjudged, deemed and, (if indicted for a capital offence hereafter to be perpetrated,) convicted of felony, and shall suffer death, as in cases of persons convicted of felony by verdict and judgment, without benefit of clergy."

6. All crimes committed on the grants, were, by this act, permitted to be tried in the county, and by the courts, of Albany; and the courts were empowered by it, to award execution against such as should be indicted for capital offences, and who should not surrender themselves in conformity to the order of the governor and council, in the same manner as if they had been convicted on a fair and impartial trial. A proclamation was at the same time issued by the governor of New York, offering a reward of £50 each for apprehending and securing, Ethan Allen, Seth

Warner, Remember Barker, Robert Cockran, Peleg Sunderland, Silvanus Brown, James Brackenridge, and James Smith, whom they considered the most obnoxious of the settlers.

7. We have already observed that the passage of the forgoing law put an end to all prospect of reconciliation, or submission to the claims of New York. It was regarded by the settlers on the New Hampshire grants, as originating solely in the avarice of a set of unprincipled speculators, who coveted their lands with their valuable improvements; and as designed to terrify them into submission. They were satisfied that the popular sentiment was in their favor, that the great body of the people of New York felt no interest in enforcing the claims of that province to the lands in question, and former experience had proved that the militia could not be brought to act against them with any effect.

8. Under such circumstances, the threatenings and arbitrary laws of that government were far from inspiring terror. They were rather regarded by the settlers with contempt, and, instead of palsying, they tended to nerve the arm of resistance. Indeed, the idea of submission seems never, for a moment, to have been entertained by these brave and determined veterans. Having been long inured to toils and hardships, they were prepared to encounter difficulties and dangers with unflinching resolution and firmness. And so very highly did they prize their personal rights and liberties, that, rather than surrender them to the arbitrary claims of New York, they almost unanimously, resolved to meet death, if necessary, in their defence.

9. These views and feelings are fully manifested in the remonstrance which they made against the foregoing law, as will appear from a few brief extracts, taken from that fearless and spirited production. After portraying, in their peculiar style, the character of the New York government, they proceeded to say,

“that by legerdemain, bribery and deception, they have extended their dominions far and wide. They have wrangled with, and encroached upon, the neighboring governments, and have used all manner of deceit and fraud to accomplish their designs. Their tenants groan under their usury and oppression, and they have gained, as well as merited, the disapprobation and abhorrence of their neighbors. The innocent blood they have already shed, calls for Heaven’s vengeance on their guilty heads; and, if they should come forth in arms against us, thousands of their injured neighbors will join with us, to cut off and exterminate such an execrable race of men from the face of the earth.”

10. Again, says that document: “we therefore advertise such officers, and all persons whatsoever, that we are resolved to inflict *immediate death* on whomsoever may attempt the same; (that is, the apprehension of any of the persons indicted as rioters.) And provided any of us, or our party shall be taken, and we have not notice sufficient to relieve them; or whether we relieve *them* or not, we are resolved to surround such person, or persons, as shall take them whether at his, or their own house, or houses, or any where that we can find him, or them, and *shoot such person or persons dead*. And furthermore, we will *kill and destroy* any person or persons whomsoever, that shall presume to be accessory,—aiding or assisting in taking any one of us, as aforesaid; for, by these presents, we give any such disposed person, or persons, to understand, that although they have a license by the law aforesaid, to *kill us*; and an ‘indemnification’ for such murder, from the same authority, yet they have no indemnification for so doing from the *Green Mountain Boys*; for our lives, liberties and properties are as verily precious to us as to any of the king’s subjects; but if the governmental authority of *New York* insists upon *killing us*, to take possession of our “*vineyards*”—let them come on; we

are ready for a game of scalping with them, for our martial spirits glow with bitter indignation and consummate fury, to blast their infernal projects."

11. The remonstrance, from which the foregoing are extracts, was dated the 26th day of April, 1774, and signed by Ethan Allen and six others. About this time a plan was concerted to avoid the jurisdiction of New York, by having the New Hampshire grants erected into a separate royal government. To effect this object, Philip Skeen, a colonel in one of the king's regiments, and the owner of large possessions on lake Champlain, went over to Great Britain, and seems to have met with some success; but nothing decisive had been done when the revolution commenced, which put an end to the negociation.

12. The opposition to the claims of New York had hitherto been confined, principally, to the inhabitants on the west side of the mountains. The settlers on the grants in the vicinity of Connecticut river, had, many of them, surrendered their original charters, and had taken new ones under the authority of New York. In several of the towns they submitted quietly to the jurisdiction of that colony, and stood, in a measure, unconcerned spectators of the controversy in which the settlers on the more westerly grants, were so deeply involved. And where this was not the case, they had not yet been driven to desperation by the executive officers of New York. They were not, however, indifferent to the policy of Great Britain towards her American Colonies. The settlers on the New Hampshire grants were, generally, emigrants from the other New England provinces, and they readily sympathized with their kindred and friends, and were by no means backward in inhibiting the growing spirit of opposition to the oppressive and arbitrary measures pursued by the mother country towards her colonies.

13. The affairs of the colonies had assumed so alarming an aspect, that delegates from most of the

provinces met at Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1774, to consult upon measures for the common safety. The meeting of this congress was followed by an almost universal suspension of the royal authority in all the colonies, excepting New York, which refused its assent to the measures recommended by that body, and the courts of justice were either shut up or adjourned without doing any business. The first interruption of this kind in the colony of New York, happened in the county of Cumberland, on the New Hampshire grants.

14. The stated session of the court for that county was to have been holden at Westminster, on the 13th of March, 1775. Much dissatisfaction prevailed in the county because New York had refused to adopt the resolves of the continental Congress, and exertions were made to dissuade the judges from holding the court. But, as they persisted in doing it, some of the inhabitants of Westminster and the adjacent towns, took possession of the court house at an early hour in order to prevent the officers of the court from entering. The court party soon appeared before the court house, armed with guns, swords and pistols and commanded the people to disperse. But, as they refused to obey, some harsh language passed between them and the court party retired to their quarters.

15. The people then had an interview with judge Chandler, who assured them that they might have quiet possession of the house till morning, when the court should come in without arms, and should hear what they had to lay before them. But, contrary to this declaration, about eleven o'clock at night, the sheriff, with the other officers of the court, attended by an armed force, repaired to the court house. Being refused admittance, some of the party fired into the house and killed one man and wounded several others. The wounded men they seized and dragged to prison, with some others who did not succeed in making their escape.

16. By means of those who escaped, the news of this massacre was quickly spread, and before noon the next day, a large body of armed men had collected. A jury of inquest brought in a verdict, that the man was murdered by the court party. Several of the officers were made prisoners and confined in the jail at Northampton, in Massachusetts. But, upon the application to the Chief Justice of New York, they were released from prison and returned home.

17. These proceedings aroused the spirit of opposition to New York throughout the grants on the east side of the mountains. A meeting of committees from the several townships was held at Westminster, on the 11th of April, 1775, at which a number of spirited resolutions were adopted relative to the late unhappy transactions. Among other things it was voted, "That it is the duty of the inhabitants, as predicated on the eternal and immutable law of self preservation, wholly to renounce and resist the administration of the government of New York, until such times as the lives and property of the inhabitants may be secured by it."

18. Thus were the settlers on the east side of the mountains driven to make common cause with their brethren on the west, in opposing the government of New York. The indignation of the settlers throughout the New Hampshire grants was now raised to the highest pitch, and probably the commencement of the American war at Lexington, on the 19th of April, was the only thing which prevented the parties proceeding to open hostilities. This event produced a shock which was felt throughout the colonies; local and provincial contests were at once swallowed up by the novelty, the grandeur and the importance of the contest thus opened between Great Britain and her American colonies.

SECTION VI.

Brief review of the progress of settlement previous to the Revolution.

1. It has already been remarked that, although several establishments had been made in Vermont previous to that time, the commencement of the settlement may properly be dated from the conquest of Canada in 1760. In that year, the whole number of settlers on the territory of Vermont did not exceed 300 persons, and although the settlement began from that time sensibly to advance, it was by no means rapid till after the treaty of peace, in 1763, by which Canada was ceded to Great Britain. In 1764, settlements had been commenced in most of the townships on Connecticut river as far north as Newbury, and in several townships on the west side of the Green Mountains.

2. In 1765, the government of New York, having acquired authority from the British crown to exercise jurisdiction over the New Hampshire grants as far eastward as Connecticut river, caused a division to be made of the territory into counties. The southwestern parts about Bennington, were annexed to the county of Albany; the northwestern, towards lake Champlain, were erected into a county by the name of Charlotte, and on the east side of the mountain, Cumberland county was formed of the southeastern parts, and Gloucester county of the northeastern.

3. This was the first division of Vermont into counties, and the only division of the kind previous to the revolution; and if the limits of these counties were then accurately defined, it is now difficult to determine where they were. It, however, appears probable from documents published in Ethan Allen's Vindication of Vermont, that the division between the counties of Albany and Charlotte passed along the south lines of the townships of Rupert, Dorset and

Peru, and that Cumberland county extended so far northward as to include about one third part of the present county of Windsor. The division lines between the counties were, however, a matter of little consequence, towards the close of this period, for when the government of New York found the opposition to their measures so determined and so general among the settlers on the grants, they gave the court of Albany county jurisdiction over the whole tract of country. This gave rise to the expression, *unlimited county of Albany*, so frequently used by the Vermont pamphleters during the controversy with New York.

4. Previous to the year 1770, scarcely any settlements had been made on the west side of the Green Mountains to the northward of the present county of Bennington. During the next year, 1771, settlements were commenced in several townships in Rutland county, and this year was taken the first census of the inhabitants on the grants on the east side of the mountains. By this enumeration it appears that Cumberland county contained, in 1771, 3947 inhabitants, and Gloucester county 722, and it was estimated that these two counties contained at that time two thirds of the people in the whole district. The whole number of inhabitants must therefore have been about 7000.

5. No complete census was taken till the year 1791, and hence it is impossible to determine the precise population of Vermont at the time of the commencement of the American Revolution. But as the settlements were rapidly extending during the five years succeeding the year 1771, we may safely conclude, that the whole population of Vermont at the commencement of the war was at least 20,000. About the close of the war we find the population incidentally estimated by Doct. Williams at 30,000 souls.

HISTORY OF VERMONT.

CHAPTER III.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

SECTION I.

Events of 1775—Reduction of Ticonderoga—Invasion of Canada—Carlton defeated by Col Warner—St Johns and Montreal taken by Gen. Montgomery—Assault upon Quebec.

1. As all minor contests and sectional difficulties were, for a while, swallowed up by the great and momentous concerns of the revolution, we shall now proceed to a brief statement of those incidents in the war for independence, with which the people of Vermont were more immediately concerned. The affairs at Lexington produced a shock, which was felt from one extremity of the colonies to the other ; and it was now perceived that their only reliance for safety was to be placed in a vigorous and effectual resistance to the arms and arbitrary power of Great Britain.

2. The military posts on lake Champlain were at this time garrisoned by British soldiers, and the British government had been pursuing measures, by which they might, if necessary, avail themselves of the strength and resources of Canada, for the purpose

of subjugating their other colonies, in case of revolt. The importance, therefore, of securing these posts to the Americans, was at once perceived, and the design of effecting this object, engaged at the same time the attention of several adventurers, both in Massachusetts and Connecticut, who were utterly ignorant of each other's views. But the first active measures for accomplishing an undertaking so desirable as the reduction of these posts, appear to have been taken by several enterprising gentlemen of Connecticut.

3. As the success of the enterprise depended upon its being managed with secrecy and dispatch, they obtained of the Connecticut legislature a loan of \$1800, and, having procured a quantity of powder and balls, they hastened forward to Bennington with the view of engaging Ethan Allen in the business. Allen readily undertook to conduct the enterprise and set off to the northward with his usual spirit of promptness and activity for the purpose of enlisting and collecting men for the expedition. The gentlemen from Connecticut, having purchased a quantity of provisions, proceeded to Castleton, where they were joined by Allen with his recruits.

4. While they were collecting at Castleton, Col Arnold arrived there attended only by a servant. This officer had been chosen captain of an independent company at New Haven in Connecticut, and, as soon as he heard of the battle at Lexington, he marched his company to Cambridge, where the Americans were assembling to invest Boston. There he received a Colonel's commission from the Massachusetts committee of safety with orders to raise 400 men for the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which he represented to be in a ruinous condition and feebly garrisoned. His commission being examined, Arnold was permitted to join the party; but it was ordered by a council that Allen should also have the commission of Colonel, and should be first in command.

5. To procure intelligence, Capt. Noah Phelps, one of the gentlemen from Connecticut, went into the fort at Ticonderoga in the habit of one of the settlers, where he enquired for a barber, under the pretence of wanting to be shaved. By affecting an awkward appearance, and asking many simple questions, he passed unsuspected and had a favorable opportunity of observing the condition of the works. Having obtained the necessary information, he returned to the party, and the same night they began their march for the fort. And these affairs had been conducted with so much expedition, that Allen reached Orwell, opposite to Ticonderoga, with his men in the evening of the 9th of May, while the garrison were without any knowledge of the proceedings and without any apprehension of a hostile visit.

6. The whole force collected on this occasion amounted to 270 men, of whom 230 were Green Mountain Boys. It was with difficulty that boats could be obtained to carry over the troops. A Mr Douglas was sent to Bridport to procure aid in men, and a scow belonging to Mr Smith. Douglas stopped by the way to enlist a Mr Chapman in the enterprise, when James Wilcox and Joseph Tyler, two young men, who were abed in the chamber, hearing the story, conceived the design of decoying on shore a large oar boat belonging to Maj. Skeen, and which then lay off against Willow point. They dressed, seized their guns and a jug of rum, of which they knew the black commander to be extremely fond,—gathered four men as they went, and, arriving all armed, they hailed the boat and offered to help row it to Shoreham, if they would carry them there immediately to join a hunting party, that would be waiting for them. The stratagem succeeded, and poor Jack and his two men suspected nothing till they arrived at Allen's head quarters, where they were made prisoners of war.

7. Douglas arrived with the scow about the same time, and, some other boats having been collected,

Allen embarked with 83 men and landed near the fort. As the morning was advancing, it was deemed inexpedient to wait for the remainder of the men to pass over. Arnold now wished to assume the command, and swore that he would lead the men into the fort. Allen swore he should not, but that he himself would be the first man that should enter. As the dispute grew warm, some of the gentlemen interposed, and it was agreed that they should both enter at the same time, but that Allen should enter on the right and have the command.

8. Accordingly, a little after day break in the morning of the 10th of May, 1775, they advanced towards the works followed by their men. The sentry at the outer post snapped his fusee at Allen, and, retreating through the covered way, was followed by the Americans, who were immediately drawn up on the parade within the fort. With so great expedition and silence was this business accomplished that the garrison, excepting the sentries, were not awakened from their slumbers, till arosued by the huzzas of the *Green Mountain Boys*, already in possession of the fort. The Capt. De Laplace, without waiting to dress himself, hastened to the door of the barrack, when Allen sternly commanded him to surrender, or he would put the whole garrison to the sword. De Laplace enquired by what authority he demanded it. I demand it, says Allen, "*in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress.*"

9. Surrounded by the Americans, the British captain perceived that resistance was vain, and surrendered the garrison prisoners of war, without knowing by what authority Allen was acting, or that hostilities had commenced between Great Britain and her colonies. As soon as Allen had landed with his party, the boats were sent back for the remainder of the men, who had been left under the command of Col Seth Warner. Warner arrived soon after the place surrendered, and taking the command of a party, set

off for the reduction of Crown Point, which was garrisoned only by a sergeant and twelve men. They surrendered upon the first summons, and Warner took possession of the fort. Skeensborough was also taken, the same day, by another party, and Major Skeen made prisoner.

10. By these enterprises, the Americans captured a British Major, a Captain, a Lieutenant and forty four privates. In the forts, they found more than 200 pieces of cannon, some mortars and howitzers, and large quantities of military stores; and also a warehouse filled with materials, for carrying on the business of building boats. All these cost not the Americans a single man.

11. Elated with their success, they now determined to secure the command of lake Champlain, by getting possession of an armed sloop, which then lay at St Johns. For this purpose they armed and manned a schooner, and procured a number of batteaux. Arnold took command of the schooner, and Allen of the batteaux, and they both set out together upon the expedition. But a fresh wind springing up from the south, the schooner out sailed the batteaux and Arnold soon reached St Johns, where he surprised and captured the sloop. The wind immediately shifting to the north, Arnold set sail with his prize, and met Allen with his batteaux at some distance from St Johns. Thus, in the course of a few days, and by a few daring individuals, was lake Champlain and its important fortresses secured to the Americans.

12. The American Congress, having received intelligence that the governor of Canada had been making exertions to engage the Canadians and Indians to fall upon the frontier of the colonies, determined to send a body of American troops into that province, in the hopes that the Canadians would join the other colonies, in opposition to Great Britain. For this purpose, it was proposed to raise 2000 men, who were to be placed under the command of Gen-

eral Schuyler and Montgomery. Much pains were taken to raise the troops, and a large number of batteaux and flat bottomed boats were built at Ticonderoga and Crown Point to convey the forces to Canada.

13. Montgomery set out from Crown Point, on the 21st of August, but soon received intelligence that the British Gen. Carleton was prepared to obstruct his designs—that he had provided a considerable naval force and was about entering the lake with a body of British troops. To prevent this, Montgomery proceeded down the lake, with the forces which had arrived, to the Isle La Motte, where he was soon joined by Gen. Schuyler; and they both moved forward to the Isle Aux Noix, where they took proper measures to prevent the passage of the British vessels into the lake.

14. From this place, the American generals sent proclamations into the adjacent country, assuring the Canadians that they had no designs against them, and inviting them to unite with the Americans in asserting their rights and securing their liberties. On the 6th of September, they proceeded without opposition towards St Johns with their whole force, which did not exceed 1000 men. A landing was effected about a mile and a half from the fort, but, while advancing to reconnoiter the works, their left was attacked by a party of Indians, who killed three and wounded eight of the Americans. The Indians were, however, soon repulsed, with the loss of five killed and four severely wounded. Finding the fortress well garrisoned and prepared to make a vigorous defence, the Americans thought it prudent to return to the Isle Aux Noix, and there wait the arrival of their artillery and re-inforcements, which were daily expected.

15. Schuyler returned to Albany to conclude a treaty, which had been some time negotiating, with the Indians, leaving the command to Montgomery. On the 17th of September, Montgomery, having receiv-

ed the expected reinforcements, proceeded to St Johns and laid siege to that fortress. The place was garrisoned by the greatest part of two British regiments, and contained nearly all the regular troops in Canada, and it was at the same time well supplied with artillery, ammunition and military stores. The first measure of Montgomery, was an attempt to detach the Indians, who had joined Gen. Carlton, from the British cause. Having succeeded in this, parties of the provincials were dispersed over the country and were favorably received by the Canadians.

16. As Col Ethan Allen, with 80 men, was returning from one of these excursions, he was met by Maj. Brown who was out upon the same business with 200 men. Brown informed Allen that Montreal was entirely without defence and might easily be surprised; and it was finally agreed between them that they should proceed to make an immediate attempt upon it. Allen was to cross the river and land a little north of the city, while Brown was to land a little to the south, and both were to commence the attack at the same time. Allen crossed over with his little band of 80 men, in the night, as had been agreed, but he waited in vain for the appearance of Brown to co-operate with him. And when day light appeared and rendered the surprise of the place impracticable, instead of saving himself by a retreat, Allen rashly determined to maintain his ground.

17. Gen. Carlton soon received intelligence of Allen's situation, and early in the morning marched out against him, with about 40 regulars, together with several hundred English settlers, Canadians and Indians. Allen's force was made up of Green Mountain Boys and Canadians and at the head of these he fought with desperate courage until most of the Canadians had deserted him, and *fifteen* of his men were killed and *several* wounded. But courage was unavailing against such a superiority of numbers. Allen was taken prisoner, on the 25th of September, with

38 of his men, and by order of Gen. Carlton they were all immediately loaded with irons. In that condition, they were put on board a man of war and carried to England. During the voyage they were treated with such rigour as to render their suffering almost intolerable.

18. Montgomery was in the mean time pushing the siege of St Johns, as fast as his embarrassed circumstances would permit. He derived much assistance from the Canadians, who had joined him, and being informed by them that the little fortress of Chamblee, situated further down the Sorel, contained a large quantity of ammunition and military stores, of which the besiegers were much in need, he ordered Major Brown and Livingston to proceed against it. The garrison, consisting of about one hundred men, after a short resistance surrendered themselves on the 18th of October, prisoners of war. By this capitulation the Americans obtained 120 barrels of powder, a large quantity of military stores and provisions, and the standard of the 7th Regiment. This standard was immediately transmitted to Congress, and was the first trophy of the kind, which that body had ever received.

19. The besiegers having obtained a supply of ammunition and stores by the capture of Chamblee, made their advances upon the fort at St Johns with increased vigor. The garison consisted of between six and seven hundred men, who, in the hopes of being soon relieved by Gen. Carlton, made a resolute defence. Carlton exerted himself for this purpose, but such was the disaffection of the Canadians to the British cause, that he could not muster more than one thousand men, including the regulars, the militia of Montreal, the Canadians and the Indians. With these, he purposed to cross the St Lawrence and join Col. Maclean, who had collected a few hundred Scotch emigrants and taken post at the mouth of the Sorel, hoping with their united forces to be able to

raise the siege of St Johns and relieve the garrison.

20. In pursuance of this design, Carlton embarked his troops at Montreal with the view of crossing the St Lawrence and landing at Longueil. Their embarkation was observed by Col Seth Warner, from the opposite shore, who, with about 300 Green Mountain Boys, watched their motions, and prepared for their approach. Just before they reached the south shore, Warner opened upon them a well directed and incessant fire of musketry and grape shot from a four pounder, by which unexpected assault, the enemy were thrown into the greatest confusion, and soon retreated with precipitation and disorder. When the news of Carlton's defeat reached Maclean he abandoned his position at the mouth of the Sorel and hastened to Quebec.

21. By these events the garrison at St Johns was left without the hope of relief and Major Preston, the commander, was, consequently, obliged to surrender. The garrison laid down their arms on the 3rd of November, marched out of the works and became prisoners of war, to the number of 500 regulars and more than 100 Canadian volunteers. Gen. Montgomery treated them with the greatest politeness, and had them conveyed by the way of Ticonderoga into the interior of New England. In the fort was found a large quantity of cannon and military stores.

22. Col Warner, having repulsed Gen. Carlton and caused Col Maclean to retire to Quebec, proceeded to erect a battery at the mouth of the Sorel, which should command the passage of the St Lawrence, and thus block up Gen. Carlton at Montreal. In this situation of things, Gen. Montgomery arrived from St Johns and took possession of Montreal, without opposition, on the 13th of November, Gen. Carlton having abandoned it to its fate and escaped down the river in the night in a small canoe with muffled oars. A large number of armed vessels loaded with provisions and other necessaries, and Gen. Prescott with

120 British officers and privates, also attempted to escape down the river, but were stopped at the mouth of the Sorel, and all captured by the Americans without the loss of a man.

23. The attention of Montgomery was immediately turned towards Quebec, where Carleton was now making every preparation for defence. Col Arnold, after surmounting incredible difficulties and hardships, had passed through the wilderness from Maine to Canada and appeared before Quebec with 700 men on the 9th of November, and now Montgomery, having removed every obstacle, hastened forward to join him, which he did on the 1st day of December. Their united force amounted to only about 1000 men, while that of the garrison numbered 1500; but as the latter was made up principally of Canadians and militia, Montgomery still had hopes of success. Finding that the artillery and shells produced but little effect upon the town, and that the weather was becoming too severe to carry on a regular siege, it was finally determined to make a general assault upon the town.

24. Accordingly on the morning of the 31st of December, the troops were led on to the attack. But it proved unsuccessful. The gallant Montgomery was slain, and nearly one half the American troops were killed, or taken prisoners. Arnold, though severely wounded, took the command of the shattered forces and continued the blockade determined to await the re-enforcements which he believed would soon be sent on to his relief. Thus terminated in this quarter, the campaign of 1775, and thus commenced those reverses, which were to attend the American arms in Canada during the succeeding year.

SECTION II.

Events of 1776. Small Pox fatal in the army—American army retreats—Unsuccessful expedition against Three Rivers—Affairs at the Cedars—Chamblée and St Johns abandoned by the Americans—Naval engagement of lake Champlain—Crown Point abandoned.

1. The re-enforcements, which were sent to the relief of Arnold, arrived but slowly, and when Gen. Thomas reached the camp before Quebec, on the first day of May, 1776, the whole American force at that place did not exceed 1900 men. In this state of things, and before any thing of consequence had been attempted against the city, the small pox commenced its ravages among the provincial troops, and it is hardly possible to conceive the distress, the terror and confusion it occasioned in the American camp. Ignorant of the true nature of the disease, and of the means by which its progress might be impeded; and anticipating dangers, which their fears had greatly magnified, the troops could, with difficulty, be prevented from a total dispersion. The soldiers, having heard that inoculation was the surest preventive of a fatal termination, proceeded, in defiance of orders, to inoculate themselves; and the recruits as they arrived, did the same, and thus was the disease still wider diffused, so that out of 3000 troops, which had now arrived, not more than 900 were fit for duty.

2. After a few trifling efforts against the town, Gen. Thomas was convinced that nothing of consequence, could be effected with an army in the condition to which his was reduced, and being nearly destitute of provisions, and daily expecting that the British garrison would be re-enforced by the arrival of an army from England, it was concluded, in a council of war, to abandon the siege and make the best retreat their

circumstances would permit. The next day a British man of war and two frigates arrived at Quebec, with succors for the town, having, with incredible exertions and dexterity, cut their way through the ice while the navigation was extremely difficult and dangerous.

3. One thousand marines being landed from the ships, Gen. Carlton put himself at the head of these, and 800 of his own troops and about noon marched out to give battle to the Americans. But he was too late. Gen. Thomas, foreseeing this event, had commenced his retreat; but it was done with so great precipitation that the Americans had left behind, their artillery, stores and baggage, and a number of their sick. Carlton was content with getting possession of these, and with being relieved of his besiegers, and did not pursue the Americans. The prisoners who fell into his hands were treated with the most humane and kind attention.

4. The Americans continued their retreat to the river Sorel, having marched the first 45 miles without halting. Here they found several regiments waiting for them under Gen. Thompson, who a few days after succeeded to the command, by the unfortunate death of Gen. Thomas, who died of the small pox. Gen. Sullivan and several battalions arrived about this time, and Sullivan having taken the command, now planned an enterprise against the enemy, which savored much more of boldness than prudence. The British army, which was now augmented by re-enforcements from Europe to more than 13000, had their chief rendezvous at Three Rivers, a post on the north side of the St Lawrence, about half way between Quebec and Montreal. Gen. Sullivan conceived the design of surprising this post, and for that purpose detached Gen. Thompson on the 7th of June, with 1800 men, who proceeded down the river in the night, expecting to reach Three Rivers before day light. But unavoidable delays rendered

it impossible. They were discovered by the British, before they reached the village, who marched out, attacked and dispersed them, making their general, and about 200 men, prisoners.

5. Montreal had, early in the spring, been placed under the command of Arnold, who was now raised to the rank of Brigadier general, and a party of 390 Americans under Col Beadle had been posted at the Cedars, a small fort 43 miles above that city. Being frightened at the appearance of a force descending the river to attack him, Beadle abandoned the command to Maj. Butterfield, and hastened to Montreal for a re-enforcement; and Butterfield, with an equal want of spirit, surrendered the fort and garrison on the 15th of May.

6. As soon as Beadle arrived at Montreal, Arnold detached Maj. Sherburne with 140 men, to relieve the fort at the *Cedars*. On their way they were attacked, surrounded, and after a gallant defence of nearly two hours, made prisoners, by a body of 500 Indians. Many of the Americans were killed or wounded in the engagement. Twenty others were afterwards put to death in cool blood, with all the aggravations of savage barbarity. The remainder were stripped, driven to the fort and delivered up to Capt. Foster, to whom Butterfield had surrendered.

7. When the intelligence of these events reached Arnold, he put himself at the head of eight or nine hundred men and flew to the rescue of the unfortunate captives. Upon his approach to the fort he received a communication from Capt. Foster, informing him that if he would not consent to a *cartel*, which he had already forced Maj. Sherburne and other officers to sign, the prisoners should all be *immediately put to death*. Arnold hesitated, but humanity and a regard for the captured officers, at length compelled him to accede to the proposal, and thus was his vengeance disarmed.

8. The American army in Canada was so much inferior to the British, that nothing remained for them but to make the best retreat in their power. On the 14th of June, they abandoned their post at Sorel, which a few hours afterwards was in possession of the British army. Gen. Burgoyne was immediately detached with one column in pursuit of the Americans, but with orders not to hazard an engagement until he should receive a re-enforcement. On the 15th of June, Arnold withdrew with his troops from Montreal and marched to Chamblee, where the American forces were assembled, and were engaged with much spirit and resolution in dragging their artillery and stores up the rapids.

9. This service was attended with much difficulty and danger; but they succeeded in drawing up more than one hundred batteaux, heavily laden, and having set fire to the mills and the shipping which they could not bring off, they left the village of Chamblee at the very time the British were entering it on the other side. On the 18th of June, Gen. Burgoyne reached St Johns in the evening, but the Americans had taken away every thing of value and set fire to the fort and barracks. Maj. Bigelow, with about 40 men remained at St Johns till the works were all destroyed, and left that place the same evening that Burgoyne arrived there, and joined the American army which had halted at the Isle Aux Noix.

10. The British were unable to get any of their vessels over the rapids at Chamblee, and were, consequently, unable to continue the pursuit of the American army, which now proceeded in safety to Crown Point. This retreat was conducted by Sullivan, with such consummate skill and prudence, as to retrieve his character from the imputations brought upon it by the rash and unsuccessful expedition against Three Rivers, and to merit the thanks of Congress, and of the whole army.

11. On the 12th of July, Gen. Sullivan was suc-

ceeded by Gen. Gates, in the command of the northern army. The first business of Gates was to restore to health and soundness the sick and wounded, and to increase his force by new recruits. He assembled a council of war, by which it was resolved to abandon Crown Point, and concentrate all their strength and make a vigorous stand at Ticonderoga, and on Mount Independence, which is situated on the opposite side of the lake. A general hospital was established at fort George, to which those who were sick with the small pox, were sent forward, and to avoid this contagious and loathsome disease, the new recruits were assembled at Skeensborough. On the sixth of August, six hundred men arrived from New Hampshire and re-enforcements were daily arriving from other quarters. The army was also all the time improving in health and discipline, and was active and vigorous in preparations for defence.

12. As it was of the greatest importance to the Americans to preserve the command of the lake, by constructing upon it a naval force superior to that of the British, they engaged with their usual activity in accomplishing this object. But in the prosecution of it they had innumerable difficulties to encounter. Their timber was to be cut in the woods and dragged by hand to the place where it was wanted for use ; the materials for naval equipments were to be brought from a great distance over roads almost impassable ; and the ship-carpenters were so well employed in the sea ports that it was with extreme difficulty that any could be procured. Yet, notwithstanding these obstacles, by perseverance and industry, they had, on the 18th of August, completed and equipped three schooners and five gondolas, carrying in the whole 55 cannon, consisting of twelve, nine, six and four pounders, and seventy swivels. This armament was manned by three hundred and ninety five men, and was completely fitted for action.

13. In the mean time the British were employed

in preparing a fleet at St Johns. Six armed vessels had been built in England and sent over for the express purpose of being employed on lake Champlain; but it was found impossible to get them over the falls at Chamblee without taking them in pieces, transposing them in that form, and then put them together again above the rapids. They succeeded in dragging up a large number of boats entire, and having re-built their vessels, they were ready by the first of October, to enter the lake with their fleet. This fleet consisted of the Inflexible, carrying eighteen twelve pounders, the Maria, of fourteen six pounders, the Carlton of twelve six pounders, the Thunderer, a flat bottomed radeau, or raft, with six twenty pounders, six twelves and two howitzers, some gondolas, carrying seven nine pounders, twenty gun boats, carrying, each one brass field piece from nine to twenty four pounders, and some with howitzers, and four long boats, with each a carriage gun, serving as tenders. These, amounting to thirty one in number, were all designed and prepared for attack and battle; and were to be followed by a sufficient number of vessels and boats for the transportation of the royal army, with its stores, artillery, baggage and provisions.

14. This fleet was navigated by seven hundred experienced seamen, cammanded by Captain Pringle, and the guns were served by a detachment of men and officers from the corps of artillery, and far exceeded any thing the Americans were able to provide. On the 11th of October, the British fleet and army proceeded up the lake. The American armament, which amounted to 15 vessels of different sizes, was put under the command of Gen. Arnold, who had taken a very advantageous position between Valcour island and the western main. There they formed a strong line of defence, and hoped to be able to check the progress of the enemy.

15. The British were sensible of their superior

strength, and moved forward boldly to attack the Americans. A severe engagement ensued, which was maintained for several hours with much spirit and resolution. The wind being unfavorable, the British were unable to bring the *Inflexible* and some of their other vessels into action, which was principally sustained by the *Carleton* and the gun boats; and as the wind continued adverse, the British, notwithstanding the result had thus far been in their favor, judged it prudent to withdraw from the engagement; but as night approached, they again advanced and anchored in a line as near the Americans as possible, to prevent their escape.

16. This engagement was sustained on both sides with a courage and firmness, which are seldom witnessed. Among the Americans, Gen. Waterbury, of the *Washington* galley, was in the severest part of the action. Excepting one lieutenant and a captain of marines, his officers were all either killed or wounded. He himself fought on the quarter deck during the whole action, and at the close brought off his vessel though shattered and almost torn in pieces. The result of this action was favorable to the British, but less so than they had anticipated, knowing their own force to be double that of the Americans. They had one of their gondolas sunk and one blown up with 60 men. The Americans had one of their schooners burnt, a gondola sunk, and several of their vessels much injured.

17. Arnold was now convinced that he could not withstand the superior force of the enemy, and under the cover of the night, which was dark and foggy resolved to attempt a retreat to *Ticonderoga*. In this measure he so far succeeded as to pass directly through the enemy's line unobserved, and to be entirely out of sight of the British the next morning. As soon as it was discovered that the Americans had fled, the British, anxious to obtain a decisive victory, commenced a pursuit, and during the day an American

gondola was overtaken and captured. On the 13th of October, the wind being favorable to the British, they renewed the chase, and about noon overtook the American fleet a few leagues from Crown Point. A warm engagement ensued, which was supported with great resolution and gallantry on both sides for nearly four hours. The Washington galley, commanded by Gen. Watterbury, had been so shattered in the action of the 11th, as to be useless in this engagement, and was surrendered after receiving a few broadsides.

18. Arnold was on board the Congress galley, which vessel was attacked by the Inflexible and two schooners, all within musket shot. After sustaining this unequal combat for nearly four hours, Arnold became satisfied that no exertion of courage or skill, could enable him much longer to withstand the superior force of the enemy. He was, however, determined that neither his vessels nor his men should become the trophies of their victory. Having by his obstinate resistance given several of his vessels an opportunity to escape to Ticonderoga, he now run the Congress galley and five other vessels on shore, in such manner as to land his men in safety and blow up the vessels in defiance of every effort which the British could make to prevent it. This action took place at no great distance from the mouth of Otter Creek, and the remains of Arnold's vessels were to be seen there upon the beach for many years.

19. The British under Gen. Carlton having now recovered the command of lake Champlain, it was supposed they would next attempt the reduction of Ticonderoga; and, had Carlton moved forward immediately, it was supposed that he might have possessed himself of that important fortress without much difficulty, as it was illy prepared for defence. But the wind blowing from the south, Carlton landed his army at Crown Point, the Americans having, a few days before destroyed the fort and every thing

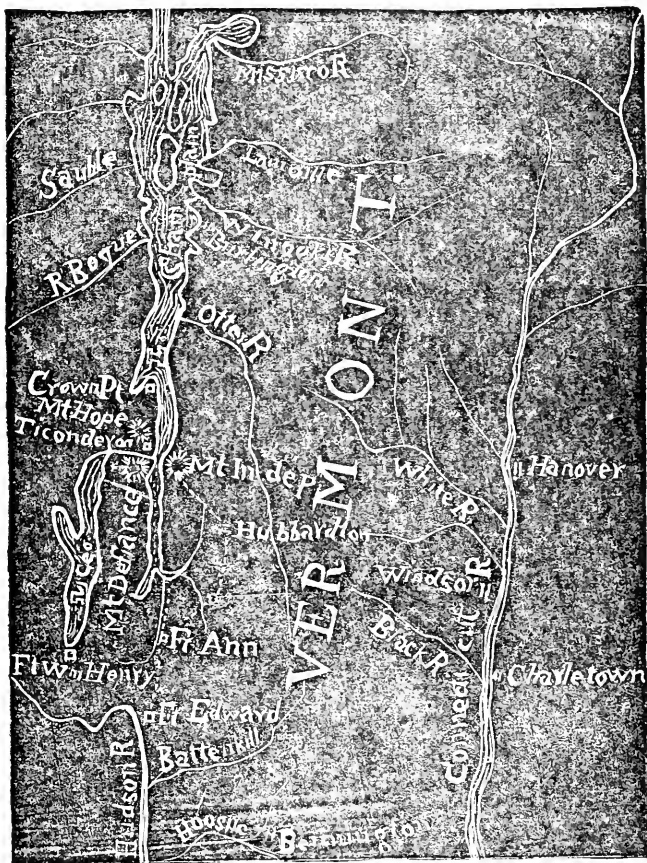
they could not carry away, and joined the main army at Ticonderoga. The Americans applied themselves with vigor in strengthening their entrenchments at Ticonderoga, and by the daily arrival of re-enforcements, and the recovery of the sick and wounded, Gates soon found himself at the head of 12000 effective men. In this situation he was not unwilling that Carlton should make an attempt to get possession of the place. But that judicious commander did not see fit to hazard an assault ; and, after spending about a month in reconnoitering the American works, he re-embarked his army at Crown Point and returned to Canada, and thus terminated the military enterprises on lake Champlain, for the year 1776.

SECTION III.

Events of 1777. Advances of Gen. Burgoyne—Ticonderoga abandoned by the Americans—Battle at Hubbardton—Retreat from fort Edward—Battle at Bennington—At Stillwater—Surrender of Burgoyne.

1. Before the opening of the campaign of 1777, Sir Guy Carleton was superceded in the command of the British forces, designed to enter United States from Canada, by Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne, who was a great favorite of the ministry and an officer of some reputation. He was, however, unacquainted with the American character and service, and was by no means so well fitted to plan and execute the operations in this quarter as the general whom he supplanted. The regular force allotted to Burgoyne amounted to 7113 men, exclusive of the corps of artillery. Of these, 3217 were Germans and the remainder British troops. This force was expected

to be increased on its arrival in America by a large number of Canadians and Indians, for whom arms and accoutrements were forwarded from England. Burgoyne was also provided with an excellent train



of brass artillery, and was assisted in the command by Generals, Philips, Fraser, Powel, Hamilton, Reid-sel and Specht, all of them able and experienced officers.

2. General Burgoyne arrived at Quebec on the 6th of May, and took the command of the army designed for the expedition. On the 12th, he proceeded to Montreal, using every possible exertion to collect and forward the troops and stores to Lake Champlain. Between the 17th and 20th of June, his whole army was assembled at Cumberland Head, at which place it embarked and proceeded up the Lake without opposition. June 21st, Burgoyne landed his army on the west side of the Lake at the mouth of the river Boquet, in the present township of Willsborough, New York. Here he was joined by four or five hundred Indians, who were to assist in the expedition. After making for the Indians a war feast according to their custom, Burgoyne addressed a speech to the chiefs and warriors, calculated to excite their savage ardor in the British cause, and to give such direction to their fierceness and cruelty as should best subserve his designs against the Americans.

3. General Schuyler, being supposed most fully to possess the confidence of the inhabitants of this part of the country had been appointed to the command of the northern department of the American army, but he arrived at Ticonderoga only four days previous to Burgoyne's council with the Indians at the river Boquet. On inspecting the works, Schuyler found them in many parts unfinished and the whole in a very bad condition. He likewise found that very few of the recruits which had been ordered to that post, had arrived, and that the militia of the neighborhood could not be safely called in, lest the provisions of the garrison should be exhausted before the arrival of supplies. Leaving the command of this post to Gen. St Clair, Schuyler returned to fort Edward, for the purpose hastening forward re-enforcements and provisions.

4. On the 30th of June, the enemy advanced towards Ticonderoga upon both sides of the lake,

and encamped for the night about four miles from the American lines. The next day their whole army and fleet proceeded forward and took their position just without the reach of the American cannon; the fleet anchoring in a line between the divisions on the east and west shore of the lake. On the 2d of July a party of 500 of the 'enemy under Capt. Fraser, attacked a picket of 60 men, within 200 yards of the American batteries, and, forcing them to retire, advanced within 60 yards of the works, scattering themselves along the whole front of the American lines; the right wing of the British army moved up from their position on the lake at the same time and took possession of Mount Hope.

5. St Clair, supposing that an assault was intended, ordered his men to conceal themselves behind the parapets and reserve their fire. Fraser's party, probably deceived as to the real position of the American works, which were in a measure concealed by bushes, continued to advance till an American soldier discharged his musket, which seemed to be understood as a signal, and the whole line arose and fired a volley;—the artillery following the example without orders. This fire was made at random and the effect of it was to produce so much smoke that the enemy could not be seen till they were beyond the reach of the American guns; and consequently every individual except one escaped.

6. On the 4th of July, Gen. Burgoyne issued a proclamation, designed to spread terror among the Americans, and persuade them to come and humble themselves before him, and through him, supplicate the mercy of their offended king. The number and ferocity of the Indians, their eagerness to be let loose upon the defenceless settlements, and the greatness of the British power, and the utter inability of the rebellious colonies to resist it, were all set forth in bold relief. His gracious protection was

promised to all those, who should join his standard, or remain quietly at their homes; but utter destruction was denounced upon all such as should dare to oppose him. This proclamation was couched in terms the most pompous and bombastic; but upon the Americans it produced no other emotions than those of derision and contempt. Its threatenings and its promises were alike disregarded—none were terrified by the former, and none were won by the latter.

7. Although every possible exertion had been made by St Clair and his men, the state of the American works and of the garrison were not such as to insure a long and vigorous defence. The old French fort had been strengthened by some additional works, several block houses had been erected, and some new batteries had been constructed on the side towards lake George. The Americans had also fortified a high circular hill on the east side of the lake opposite to Ticonderoga, to which they had given the name of Mount Independence. These two posts were connected by a floating bridge twelve feet wide and one thousand feet long, which was supported by twenty two sunken piers of large timber. This bridge was to have been defended by a boom strongly fastened together by bolts and chains; but this boom was not completed when Burgoyne advanced against the works.

8. Notwithstanding the apparent strength of the posts occupied by the Americans, their works were all effectually overlooked and commanded by a neighboring eminence called Sugar Hill, or Mount Defiance. This circumstance was well known to the American officers, and they had a consultation for the express purpose of considering the propriety of fortifying this mountain; but it was declined because they believed the British would not think it practicable to plant cannon upon it, and because their works were already so extensive, that they could

not be properly manned, the whole garrison consisting of only 2546 continental troops, and 900 militia; the latter very badly armed and equipped.

9. St Clair was sensible that he could not sustain a regular siege; still he hoped that the confidence of Burgoyne would induce him to attempt to carry the American works by assault, against which he was resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. But to the surprise and consternation of the Americans, on the 5th of July, the enemy appeared upon Mount Defiance, and immediately commenced the construction of a battery. This battery, when completed, would effectually command all the American works on both sides of the lake and the line of communication between them; and, as there was no prospect of being able to dislodge the enemy from this post, a council of war was called, by which it was unanimously agreed that a retreat should be attempted that very night, as the only means of saving the army.

10. Accordingly, about two o'clock in the morning of the 6th of July, Gen. St Clair, with the garrison, left Ticonderoga, and about three o'clock the troops on Mount Independence were put in motion. The baggage, provisions and stores were, as far as practicable, embarked on board 200 bateaux, and dispatched, under convoy of five armed galleys, to Skeensborough, while the main body of the army proceeded by land on the route through Hubbardton and Castleton. These affairs were conducted with secrecy and silence, and unobserved by the enemy, till a French officer, imprudently and contrary to orders, set fire to his house. The flames immediately illuminated the whole of Mount Independence and revealed to the enemy at once, the movements and designs of the Americans. It at the same time impressed the Americans with such an idea of discovery and danger, as to throw them into the utmost disorder and confusion.

11. About four o'clock the rear guard of the Americans left Mount Independence, and were brought off by Col Francis in good order; and the regiments, which had preceded him, were soon recovered from their confusion. When the troops arrived at Hubbardton, they were halted for nearly two hours. Here the rear guard was put under the command of Col Seth Warner, with orders to follow the army, as soon as those, who had been left behind, came up, and to halt about a mile and a half in the rear of the main body. St Clair then proceeded to Castleton, about six miles further, leaving Warner with the rear guard and stragglers, at Hubbardton.

12. The retreat of the Americans from Ticonderoga no was sooner perceived by the British, than an eager pursuit was begun by Gen. Fraser with the light troops, who was soon followed by Gen. Reidsel with the greater part of the Brunswick regiments. Fraser continued the pursuit during the day, and having learned that the rear of the American army was not far off, ordered his men to lie that night upon their arms. Early on the morning of the 7th, he renewed the pursuit, and about 7 o'clock, commenced an attack upon the Americans under Warner. Warner's force consisted of his own regiment, and the regiments of Col Francis and Hale. Hale, fearful of being overpowered by superior numbers, retired from the field with his regiment, leaving Warner and Francis, with only seven or eight hundred men, to dispute the progress of the enemy.

13. The conflict was fierce and bloody. Francis fell at the head of his regiment, fighting with great resolution and bravery. Warner, well supported by his officers and men, charged the enemy with such impetuosity that they were thrown into disorder and at first gave way. They, however, soon recovered, formed anew, and advanced upon the Americans, who in their turn fell back. At this critical mo-

ment, a re-enforcement under Gen. Reidsel arrived, which was immediately led into action, and the fortune of the day was soon decided. The Americans, overpowered by numbers, and exhausted by fatigue, fled from the field in every direction.

14. The loss of the Americans in this encounter was very considerable. Hale, in his cowardly attempt to escape by flight, fell in with a party of the British and surrendered himself and a number of his men, prisoners of war. The whole American loss in killed wounded and prisoners, was 324. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded, was 183. Gen. St Clair, with the main body of the American army, was at Castleton, only six miles distant, during this engagement, but sent no assistance to Warner. After the battle Warner, with his usual perseverance and intrepidity, collected his scattered troops and conducted them safely to Fort Edward, to which place St Clair had retired with the army.

15. While Gen. Fraser and Reidsel were pursuing the Americans by land, Gen. Burgoyne himself conducted the pursuit by water. The boom and bridge between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence not being completed were soon cut through, and by nine o'clock in the morning of the 6th, the British frigates and gun boats had passed the works. Several regiments were immediately embarked on board the boats and the chase commenced. By three in the afternoon the foremost boats overtook and attacked the American gallies near Skeensborough, (now Whitehall; and upon the approach of the frigates, the Americans abandoned their gallies, blew up three of them and escaped to the shore. The other two fell into the hands of the British.

16. As the American force was not sufficient to make an effectual stand at Skeensborough, they set fire to the works, mills and batteaux and retreated up Wood Creek to fort Ann. Being pursued by the ninth British regiment under Colonel Hill, the

Americans turned upon him and gave him battle with such spirit as to cause him to retire to the top of a hill, where he would have been soon overpowered had not a re-enforcement arrived at that critical moment, to his assistance. The Americans, upon this, relinquished the attack, and having set fire to fort Ann, retreated to fort Edward and joined the main army under Schuyler.

17. The retreat from Ticonderoga was very disastrous to the Americans. Their cannon, amounting to 128 pieces,—their shipping and batteaux and their provisions, stores and magazines, fell into the hands of the enemy. By this event Burgoyne obtained no less 1748 barrels of flour and more than 70 tons of salt provisions; and, in addition to these, a large drove of cattle, which had arrived in the American camp a few days previous to their retreat, fell into his hands. After St Clair had joined Schuyler at fort Edward, and all he scattered troops had come in, the whole American force at that place did not exceed 4400 men. Sensible that with this force, it would be impossible to make an effectual stand, it became the chief object of the American generals to impede as much as possible the progress of the enemy by cutting down trees, blocking up the roads and destroying the bridges.

17. The works at fort Edward being in no condition to afford protection to the American army, Gen. Schuyler abandoned them on the 22d of July, and retired with his whole force to Moses Creek, a position on the Hudson, about four miles below fort Edward. At this place the hills approach very near the river on both sides, and this was selected as a favorable position to make a stand and dispute the progress of the enemy. But the army was found to be so much reduced by defeat and desertion, and the disaffection to the American cause was found to be so general in this section of the country, that it was judged best to retire to Saratoga, and subse-

quently, to Stillwater, at which place the army arrived on the 1st day of August.

19. The British were in the mean time bringing forward their artillery and stores, and opening the way from Skeensborough to fort Edward. But so effectually had the Americans blocked up and obstructed the road, that the British army was frequently 24 hours in advancing one mile. It was not till the 30th of July that Burgoyne arrived and fixed his head quarters at fort Edward. Nothing could exceed the joy of the British army on its arrival at the Hudson. They flattered themselves that their difficulties and toils were now ended; and that there was nothing before them but a safe and easy march to Albany, and thence to a junction with the British army at New York.

20. The British had supposed that a large proportion of the inhabitants on the New Hampshire grants and in the northern parts of New York, were opposed to the revolution and that it was necessary only to march an army into their country, and furnish them with arms to bring them all around the royal standard. Arms had therefore been forwarded by Burgoyne, a proclamation was issued, addressed to the inhabitants of the country, and Burgoyne was now waiting for their submission, and for the arrival of his tents and baggage. But notwithstanding the darkness and gloom which enveloped the American affairs, very few were found, who were disposed to abandon the cause of their *country* for that of their *king*.

22. At this period settlements had been commenced in most of the towns in the present counties of Bennington and Rutland, and in several towns to the northward of Rutland county. But upon the advance of Burgoyne along the lake, the settlers retired towards the south, and at the time Burgoyne was upon the Hudson, very few settlers remained upon their farms to the northward of the

present country of Bennington. But that the settlers were true to the American cause we are assured by the testimony of Burgoyne himself. In his private letter to Lord Germain dated Saratoga, Aug. 20th, 1777, he says "The Hampshire grants in particular, a country unpeopled and almost unknown in the last war, now abounds in the most active and most rebellious race on the continent, and hangs like a gathering storm on my left."

22. On the 15th of July, the committee of safety of Vermont assembled at Manchester, where they agreed to raise all the men they could, to oppose, the enemy, who were then advancing towards fort Edward. They at the same time wrote in the most urgent terms to New Hampshire and Massachusetts, to send on a body of troops to their assistance. The Legislature of New Hampshire, immediately formed their militia into two brigades, and placed one under the command of Gen. William Whipple, and the other under Gen. John Stark. One fourth of his own brigade, and a portion of the other was then ordered to march immediately under the command of Gen. Stark, to stop the progress of the enemy upon the north western frontier.

23. Stark had been an officer of some reputation in the French war, and had also distinguished himself at the battle of Bunker Hill; but considering himself neglected by Congress in not being promoted, he had left the continental service, and would not accept the present command, unless left at liberty to serve, or not, under a continental officer, as he should think proper. As there was no time for delay, the assembly of New Hampshire invested him with a separate command, with orders to repair without delay to the New Hampshire grants, and act either in conjunction with the troops of the grants, or of the other states, or separately, as he should judge best for the protection of the people and the annoyance of the enemy.

24. Agreeably to his orders, Stark hastened forward

with about 800 men, and joined the Vermont troops, who were collected at Manchester under the command of Colonel Seth Warner, to the number of about 600, making the united force under Stark, about 1400 men. Gen. Schuyler, wishing to collect all the American troops in front of the British army to prevent its approach to Albany, wrote repeatedly to Stark to join him with the men under his command. But Stark believed that the most effectual way of checking the advance of Burgoyne, was to hang upon his rear and embrace every favorable opportunity to cut off his supplies and amey him from that quarter, and therefore neglected to obey the orders of Schuyler. Schuyler complained to Congress of this want of subordination, and Congress proceeded, August 19th, to adopt a resolution censuring the course pursued by the New Hampshire assembly in giving to Stark a separate command, and requesting them "to instruct Gen. Stark to conform himself to the same rules, to which other general officers of the militia are subject, whenever called out at the expense of the United States."

25. In the mean time Stark wrote to Schuyler that he was willing to unite in any measures which would promote the public good—that he wished to avoid whatever was inconsistent with his own honor—and that private resentment should not prevent his marching to his camp, if it was deemed necessary. He was at the same time watching for an opportunity to manifest his courage and patriotism by an attack upon some part of the British army. Nor was he obliged to wait long for the opportunity to present itself. Nearly at the same time when Congress was censuring his conduct by a public resolution, Stark and his brave followers were acquiring unfading laurels, and rendering that service to the American cause, which soon after procured for him, from the same Congress, a vote of thanks, and promotion to the rank of brigadier general in the army of the United States.

26. From the 28th of July, to near the middle of August, the British army was constantly employed in bringing forward their *batteaux* and stores from lake George, to the first navigable part of Hudson river. But with all his efforts and diligence, Burgoyne was unable to bring forward, with his other stores, a sufficient quantity of provisions for daily consumption, and the establishment of the necessary magazines. It was this circumstance which induced him to attempt to replenish his own stores at the expense of the Americans. Having learned that a large quantity of provisions were collected together at Bennington, and designed for the American army, and that they were guarded only by militia; and, moreover, being made to believe that a majority of the people in that quarter were friendly to the royal cause, and were ready to join it, whenever an opportunity should permit, Burgoyne determined to surprise the place and secure the stores to his own army.

27. For this purpose he detached a select body of about 500 regular troops, some Canadians and more than 100 Indians, with two light pieces of artillery, and placed the whole under the command of Colonel Baume. To facilitate their operations, and to take advantage of their success, a detachment of the British army was posted upon the east bank of the Hudson, opposite to Saratoga, and another detachment under Colonel Breyman was stationed at Battenkill. This disposition being made, Baume set out with his detachment for Bennington, on the morning of the 12th of August, and arrived that day at Cambridge.

28. Gen. Stark, who was now at Bennington with his whole force, except Warner's regiment, receiving intelligence that a party of Indians were at Cambridge, despatched Col. Greig with 200 men to stop their progress, but before night it was ascertained that a large body of regulars were in the rear of the Indians and that they were advancing towards Bennington. Stark sent an express to Warner to hasten to Bennington

with his regiment, and he also sent to the neighboring militia to join him with all possible despatch. On the morning of the 14th, he directed his march towards Cambridge, and at the distance of seven miles, he met Greg, retreating before the enemy who were at that time, only one mile in his rear.

29. Stark immediately drew up his men in order of battle, and Baume, perceiving the Americans to be too strong to be attacked with his present force, halted upon a commanding piece of ground, and sent an express to Colonel Breyman to march immediately to his support. In the mean time small parties of the Americans, had frequent skirmishes with the enemy, in which they killed and wounded 30 of them, two of whom were Indian chiefs, without any loss to themselves. The ground occupied by the Americans being unfavorable for a general action, Stark retreated about a mile and encamped. Here a council of war was held by which it was resolved that an attack should be made upon the enemy before they should receive any re-enforcements. Two detachments were therefore ordered to be in readiness, the next morning to pass round and fall upon the rear of the enemy, while the rest of the troops attacked them in front. The next day, however, proved rainy, which prevented a general engagement, but there were frequent skirmishes between small parties, which resulted in such a manner as to afford encouragement to the Americans.

30. Being joined by a small party of militia from Berkshire, Massachusetts, under Colonel Symonds, Stark proceeded on the morning of the 16th of August, to make a general attack upon the enemy, agreeably to the plans which had been concerted two days before. Baume had in the mean time, entrenched his camp, which was situated near the Waloomsue a branch of the Hoosue, and had rendered his port as strong as circumstances would permit. Colonel Nichols was detached with 200 men, to the rear of the

left wing of the enemy, and Colonel Herrick, with 300 men, to the rear of their right. Colonels Hubbard and Stickney, with 200 men were ordered on the right, and 100 men were advanced in front to draw the attention of the enemy that way. The several divisions having taken their positions, about three o'clock the action commenced. As the divisions of Nichols and Herrick approached each other in the rear of the enemy, the Indians, apprehensive of being surrounded, made their escape between the two corps, excepting three killed and two wounded by the fire of the Americans as they passed.

31. Nichols began the attack and was immediately followed by the other divisions. The onset was furious and determined, and the sound of the conflict has been likened to one continued peal of thunder. The German dragoons made a brave resistance, and when their ammunition was expended, they were led on by Colonel Baume, and charged the Americans sword in hand. But their bravery was unavailing. After about two hours hard fighting, the enemy were overpowered, their works carried on all points, and their two pieces of cannon taken. Colonel Baume was mortally wounded and fell into the hands of the Americans, and all his men, excepting a few, who escaped to the woods, were either killed or taken prisoners.

32. This victory was but just completed when Stark received intelligence that the re-enforcement under Colonel Breyden was rapidly approaching and only two miles distant. Fortunately at this moment Colonel Warner arrived with his regiment of Green Mountain Boys. Disappointed that he had not arrived in season to take part in the first engagement and share in its glories, Warner immediately led forward his men and attacked the re-enforcement under Breyden with great spirit and resolution. Stark collected the militia and hastened to his assistance, and the action soon became general. The combat was maintained with

great bravery on both sides till sunset when the enemy gave way and were pursued till dark.

33. In these two engagements the Americans took four brass field pieces, 12 brass drums, four ammunition waggons, and about 700 prisoners with their arms and accoutrements. The number of the enemy found dead on the field was 207: their number of wounded not ascertained. The loss of the Americans was trifling in comparison with that of the enemy. They had only 30 killed and about 40 wounded. This action took place near the west line of Bennington, and hence it is called "*the battle of Bennington.*"

34. Nothing could be more encouraging to the Americans, or disheartening to the enemy than this splendid victory of Stark, achieved principally by undisciplined militia over veteran regular troops. Since the fall of Montgomery an uninterrupted series of defeats had attended the American arms in the northern department, and many of the most ardent in the cause of freedom had begun to despond. But by this event, they discovered that their enemy was not invincible,—their hopes and their courage were revived, and volunteers from every quarter flocked to the American standard. It also enabled Stark to vindicate his attachment to the cause of his bleeding country, and to render that cause a service far more important than he could have done by joining the main army on the Hudson.

35. After their disasters at Bennington the British army remained quietly at their camp opposite to Saratoga for some time, awaiting the approach of Colonel St Ledger, who had been sent round by the way of lake Ontario, for the reduction of fort Stanwix on the upper part of the Mohawk river. But they waited in vain. That officer, after encountering many difficulties, was obliged, through the defection of the Indians belonging to his corps, to retreat without accomplishing the object of the expedition. These events had not only retarded the advance of Bur-

goyne, but they served to depress the spirits of the royal army, while they at the same time encouraged the Americans, and afforded Gates, who had now superseded Schuyler, time to strengthen and fortify his camp.

36. In the mean time General Lincoln, who commanded a body of New England militia, determined to make a diversion in the rear of the enemy. He accordingly proceeded from Manchester to Pawlet, and from thence on the 13th of September, despatched Colonel Brown with 500 men to destroy the British stores and release the American prisoners, which were collected at lake George. At the same time he ordered Colonel Johnson with an equal number of men to proceed towards Ticonderoga to divert the attention of the enemy, while Brown was accomplishing his object. In addition to these he detached Colonel Woodbridge with 500 men by the way of Skeensborough and fort Ann to fort Edward. The design of these expeditions was to alarm and divide the British forces and to cut off their supplies.

37. Brown proceeded with such secrecy and celerity, that by the 18th of September he had surprised all the out posts between the landing place at the north end of lake George and the main fortress at Ticonderoga. The Americans had likewise recovered Mount Hope, Mount Defiance, 200 batteaux, one armed sloop and a number of gun boats; and they had taken 293 prisoners and had liberated more than 100 Americans. Encouraged by this success, they summoned General Powel, the British commander of Ticonderoga, to surrender that fortress; but not being in a condition to make any effectual attempt against it, they returned in safety, and with scarcely any loss, to Lincoln's camp.

38. General Burgoyne crossed the Hudson on the 13th and 14th of September and advanced towards the American army, which was posted at Stillwater.

On the 18th, 3000 Americans marched out with a view of attacking the enemy, but finding that the attempt would be too hazardous, they remained during the day in full view of the royal army, without commencing the attack. On the 19th, General Burgoyne put himself at the head of the right wing of the British army and advanced towards the left of the Americans. Generals, Phillips and Reidsel, at the same time advanced along the river towards the right. About one o'clock some of the American scouts fell in with those of the British, and attacked them with great boldness.

39. The firing was no sooner heard than the advanced parties of both armies pressed forward to battle. Re-enforcements were continually sent on upon both sides and the contest soon became obstinate and general. The first attempt of the Americans was to turn the right wing of the British army and flank their line. Failing in this, they moved in regular order to the left and there made a furious assault. Both armies were determined to conquer, and the battle raged without intermission for three hours. Any advantage upon one side was soon counterbalanced by an equal advantage on the other.—Cannon and favorable positions were taken, lost and re-taken in quick succession; and the two armies might be compared to the two scales of a mighty balance, trembling with equal burdens in doubtful oscillation, and, had not night put an end to the struggle, it is extremely doubtful which would have preponderated.

40. This engagement, though undecisive, was advantageous to the Americans. The British lost in killed, wounded and prisoners, more than 500 men, while the loss of the Americans amounted to 64 killed, 217 wounded and 38 missing. But the principal advantage arose from the new impressions which were made upon the minds of the royal army. They had hitherto regarded the American army as an assemblage of unorganized cowardly Yankees, which could

never be brought to face regular British and German troops upon the field of battle. And when they came to see those, whom they regarded as despicable back woodsmen, maintaining, in their rustic homespun and leather aprons, with no other arms than rusty fowling pieces, an animated and determined attack upon the royal troops, till darkness put it out of their power to continue it, their hearts sunk within them, and the most sanguine could not suppress fearful forebodings with regard to the termination of their expedition.

41. The Indians in particular, were so disheartened, that nearly all of them immediately left the British service, and about 250 of them came over and joined the American army. The Canadians and Tories also deserted in large numbers. From the 20th of September to the 7th of October, the two armies lay very near each other and skirmishes between small parties were continually kept up. During this time the American army was receiving daily accessions from the surrounding country, while that of the British was continually diminishing by desertion and other causes. On the 7th, General Burgoyne put himself at the head of 1500 regulars, for the purpose of covering a foraging party and discovering whether it would be possible to force a passage down the Hudson, should it be found necessary to alter his position.

42. As soon as Gates received intelligence of the marching of this detachment, he put his troops in motion to meet them, and about four o'clock in the afternoon an action commenced which continued till night, and was one of the most animated and obstinate ever fought in America. The British troops were at length compelled to retreat to their camp, and some of their entrenchments were carried by the Americans sword in hand; their loss in the conflict was very severe, compared with that of the Americans. Gen. Fraser, Col Breyden and several other officers were slain, and Sir James Clark, Major Williams and Major Ackland were wounded and taken prisoners. The

Americans took in the whole 200 prisoners, nine pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of ammunition and camp equipage.

43. As the force of Burgoyne was thus constantly diminishing, while that of Gates was daily augmenting by fresh arrivals, it became obvious that nothing short of a retreat to Canada could now prevent the complete overthrow of the royal army. This Burgoyne attempted as a dernier resort, but soon found that the Americans had so completely hemmed him in, as to render it utterly impracticable. Gates now employed every means to cut off the supplies of the enemy and the situation of the royal army became so desperate, that, on the 13th of October, Burgoyne called a council of war by which it was unanimously determined to propose a capitulation. The next day, Major Kingston was sent to the Americans; hostilities were suspended; and on the 15th and 16th, the articles of capitulation were severally agreed upon, and were to be signed the next day. During the night of the 16th, Burgoyne received intelligence that a British army was advancing up the Hudson to his assistance; and as the capitulation was not yet signed, he was of opinion that it was best to suspend the execution of it, and trust to events. But his council decided that the public faith was already pledged for the execution of the treaty.

44. Gates, who was well apprised of the advance of the British up the Hudson, and fearful that Burgoyne might be encouraged by it to further resistance, got every thing in readiness for attacking him on the morning of the 17th. At nine o'clock, the time fixed for signing the articles, he sent Colonel Greaon on horse-back to General Burgoyne for his signature, allowing him only ten minutes to go and return. The business was accomplished in the time specified, and the Americans marched back to their camp to the tune of Yankee-Doodle. The whole number of troops, which were surrendered by this capitulation,

was 6219, together with all the arms and military stores belonging to the British army.

45. This event terminated the career of Burgoyne and of the northern British army in America, and nearly put an end to the war in the vicinity of Vermont. The regular force under Gates was moved off to combat the enemy in other quarters, and the sturdy yeomanry, who had rallied around his standard and fought the battles of their country, now returned to their homes. The country which had been made desolate by the ravages of war, began again to be inhabited; and the inhabitants were allowed once more to devote their attention to their civil and domestic affairs.

46. We have been thus particular respecting the invasion of Burgoyne, as well on account of its effects in breaking up the settlements in the western parts of Vermont, as of the important part performed by the Green Mountain Boys in checking, and finally captivating the British army. In this business the people of Vermont made common cause with those of other states, and we have therefore not interrupted our account of the great events of the Revolution which transpired upon our borders, by any account of our internal policy. We shall, however, proceed in the next chapter, to consider more particularly the situation of Vermont, with respect to her internal government, and her relations to the neighboring states, and to the British forces in Canada, during the war for Independence.

HISTORY OF VERMONT.

CHAPTER IV.

CIVIL POLICY OF VERMONT DURING THE REVOLUTION.

SECTION I.

From the year 1775, to the Declaration of the Independence of Vermont in 1777.

1. Having completed our account of those important events in the American war, in which the people of Vermont were more particularly concerned, we shall now turn our attention to their internal policy, and endeavor to trace the successive steps by which the powers of government were assumed, and their political fabric erected. The New Hampshire grants, having never been recognized by the king as a separate jurisdiction, and having ever refused submission to the authority of New York, were, at the commencement of the revolution, nearly in a state of nature, being without any internal organization under which the inhabitants could act with system and effect. Their only rallying point and bond of union was their common interest in resisting the claims and authority of New York. Yet the same interests which drove them to resistance, gave the effect of law to the recommendations of their committees, while a few bold and daring spirits, as if formed for the very

occasion, gave impulse, and energy, and system to their operations.

2. Thus situated, were the inhabitants of the New Hampshire grants, when the first scene of the great drama of the revolution was opened at Lexington, and as all lesser lights are swallowed up in the superior splendor of the sun, so were all the minor controversies among the colonists for a while absorbed in the more momentous controversy with the mother country. But the partial relief, now experienced, from the oppression of New York, served only to discover to of the inhabitants of the grants, the frailty of their bond union, and to convince them of the necessity of a better organization, both to enable them to maintain the grounds, which they had assumed in relation to New York, and to put it in their power to render efficient aid to their countrymen in the contest with Great Britain.

3. Accordingly, in the fall of the year 1775, several of the leading men in the grants, repaired to Philadelphia, where the American Congress was then sitting, to procure the advice of that body with regard to the course proper to be pursued, under existing circumstances, by the inhabitants of the grants. Congress did not act formally upon their request, but on the return of these men to the grants, they spread circulars among the people, setting forth as the opinion of several influential members of that body, that the inhabitants should immediately form a temporary association and adopt such regulations as were required by the exigencies of their situation.

4. A convention of delegates from the several townships was accordingly assembled at Dorset, on the 16th of January, 1776. This convention forwarded a petition and address to Congress, in which, after giving a brief sketch of the controversy with New York, they avowed their unwavering attachment to the cause in which the colonies had unsheathed the sword, and expressed their willingness to bear their full

proportion of the burden of prosecuting the war. But at the same time, they declared their unwillingness to be considered as in any manner subject to the authority, or jurisdiction of New York, or to be called upon, when their services should be required, as inhabitants of that province.

5. This was the first petition of the inhabitants of the grants to Congress, and the committee to whom it was referred reported, that it be recommended to the petitioners to submit for the present to the government of New York, and assist their countrymen in the contest with Great Britain; but that such submission ought not to prejudice their right to any lands in controversy, or be construed to affirm, or admit, the jurisdiction of New York over the country, when the present troubles should be ended. Mr Heman Allen, the agent by whom this petition was forwarded, considering the report of the committee unfavorable to the grants, obtained leave to withdraw the petition, and thus prevented Congress from coming to any decision upon the subject. This took place on the 4th of June, 1776 and on the 4th of July following, Congress published to the world the memorable declaration of American Independence.

6. By this declaration of Independence, the people on the New Hampshire grants were placed in a situation more difficult and embarrassing than before, and there were various opinions with regard to the course which should be pursued. Some thought it best to place themselves under the jurisdiction of New Hampshire: some considered the submission of the grants to the authority of New York the only course of safety; but the more resolute and influential were for assuming the powers of government and hazarding the consequences. To ascertain the state of public opinion on this subject, it was determined that a general convention should be called, and cir-

culars were accordingly addressed to the different towns, requesting them to appoint delegates.

7. There was a general compliance with this request, and delegates from thirty five towns assembled at Dorset on the 24th of July, 1776. At this session it was agreed by the delegates to enter into an association among themselves for the defence of the liberties of their country. But at the same time they resolved that they would not associate with, or submit to, the provincial government of New York, and that all such inhabitants of the grants as should thus associate, or submit, should be regarded as enemies to the common cause. This convention met again by adjournment at the same place on the 25th of September, and resolved unanimously, "to take suitable measures, as soon as may be, to declare the New Hampshire grants a free and separate district."

8. On the 15th of January, 1777, the convention met again at Westminster. The sentiments of their constituents were now well ascertained, and, being convinced that there was now no other way of safety left, they on the 16th of that month published the following declaration: "this convention, whose members are duly chosen by the free voice of their constituents, in the several towns on the New Hampshire grants, in public meeting assembled, in our own names, and in behalf of our constituents, *do hereby proclaim and publicly declare that the district of territory comprehending, and usually known by the name and description of the New Hampshire grants, of right ought to be, and is hereby declared forever hereafter to be, a free and independent jurisdiction, or state; to be forever hereafter called, known, and distinguished by the name of New Connecticut, alias VERMONT.*"

9. And this declaration of independence furthermore asserts, "that the inhabitants who at present are, or who may hereafter become resident, either by birth or emigration, within said territory, shall be entitled to the same privileges, immunities and en-

franchisements as are allowed, or as may hereafter at any time be allowed, to the inhabitants of any of the free and independent states of America: And that such privileges and immunities shall be regulated in a bill of rights, and by a form of government to be established at the next session of this convention."

10. The foregoing declaration was unanimously adopted by the convention; after which they drew up a declaration and petition to Congress, in which they announced to that body, as the grand representative of the United States, that they had declared the territory, commonly known by the name of the New Hampshire, grants a free and independent state, possessing the right to regulate their own internal policy in any manner which should not be repugnant to the resolves of Congress. They moreover declared their attachment to the common cause and expressed their willingness to contribute their full proportion towards maintaining the war with Great Britain. They closed by praying that their declaration might be acknowledged by Congress and that delegates from Vermont might be admitted to seats in that body. This declaration and petition was signed, and was presented to Congress by James Fay, Thomas Chittenden, Heman Allen and Reuben Jones, four of the most respectable members of the convention.

11. These prompt and decisive measures of the convention evinced the wisdom and boldness of the statesmen, who at this period directed the affairs of Vermont, and placed the community in a condition to adopt an efficient organization of its own. Vermont, in justification of the course of policy she was pursuing, contended that she had the same right to assume the powers of government, which was possessed by the continental Congress, and that every consideration, which could justify the proceedings of that body, might be urged as a reason why the people of Vermont should embrace the

present opportunity, effectually to secure themselves against the oppression under which they had so long suffered. Happy was it for the new state, that these measures were adopted and supported with that firmness and temperance, which were alone adequate to secure a happy result.

SECTION II.

Establishment of the Government of Vermont—from the Declaration of Independence January 15, 1777, to the Meeting of the General Assembly on the 12th of March 1778.

1. These proceedings of Vermont, by which she had declared herself to be a separate and independent jurisdiction, were regarded with very different feelings by the neighboring states. While New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut were ready to admit Vermont as a new member of the federal union, and applauded the spirit and boldness with which she asserted and maintained her rights, New York regarded these transactions as open acts of treason and rebellion against the lawful authority of that state. With these views, the convention of New York, on the 20th of January, 1777, and again on the 1st of March, of the same year, addressed communications to Congress, in which they represented the proceedings of Vermont as resulting from the arts and instigations of designing men, and not, as had been represented, from a general desire of the inhabitants of that district to renounce their allegiance to the authority of New York.

2. They complained of the injuries done them by Congress in the appointment of officers in the disaffected portion of their state without their consent,

and intimated their apprehensions that it was the design of Congress to countenance the insurgents in their rebellion. They urged upon Congress the necessity of immediately recalling the commissions given to Colonel Warner and the officers under him, as an act of justice to New York, and as the means of opening the eyes of the "deceived people" on the grants, who had set up for a separate jurisdiction, and were now desiring Congress to sanction their illegal proceedings. They represented the influence of Warner as very inconsiderable, even in the disaffected district, and that his services were a matter of no consequence to the country.

3. While New York was thus laying her grievances before Congress, and using all her influence to prevent that body from recognizing the independence of the grants, the internal affairs of Vermont were rapidly assuming that form and regularity, which was calculated to insure a permanent and efficient organization of the government. In April, Thomas Young, a distinguished citizen of Philadelphia, addressed a communication to the inhabitants of Vermont, in which he represented it as the opinion of several of the leading members of Congress, that Vermont should proceed in her organization, form a constitution, and appoint delegates to Congress; and he declared it to be his own individual opinion that Congress would not hesitate to sanction their proceedings, or to admit their delegates to a seat in that honorable body.

4. This communication was prefixed to a resolution, which Congress had passed on the 15th of May, 1776, which recommended to the assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, where no government, sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs, had already been established, to adopt such government as, in the opinion of their representatives of the people, should best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents. This resolution was regarded by

the author of the communication, as a full license from Congress to the grant, and want the powers of government, and he recommended that no time be lost in availing themselves of the present opportunity to establish a separate dominion.

5. Alarmed at the suggestions in the foregoing communication of Thomas Young, the council of safety of New York proceeded, on the 25th of May, to make a further effort to arrest the progress of Vermont. With this view they addressed a letter to the president of Congress, in which they say that, "as a report prevails and daily gains credit, that the revolvers are privately countenanced in their designs by certain members of Congress, we esteem it our duty to give this information, that by a proper resolution on the subject, the reputation of Congress may cease to be injured by imputations so disgraceful and dishonorable. However unwilling we may be to entertain suspicions so disreputable to any member of Congress, yet the truth is, that no inconsiderable numbers of the people of this state, do believe the report to be well founded."

6. With a view of bringing Congress to a decision on the subject of this controversy, on the 23rd of June, one of the New York delegates laid before that body the communication of Thomas Young to the inhabitants of Vermont. Congress now took up the matter, and the petitions and communications from New York and the New Hampshire grants, were referred to a committee of the whole. This committee, on the 30th day of June, among other things resolved, that Congress would not recommend or countenance any thing injurious to the rights and jurisdiction of the several communities herein represented.—That the inhabitants of the New Hampshire grants cannot be justified in their declaration of independence, by the example of the United Colonies, nor by any act or resolution of Congress.—That the petition of Vermont, to be recognized as a state, be not a *

state, and to have her delegates admitted to seats in Congress, be dismissed. They farther resolved that the communication of Thomas Young was derogatory to the honor of Congress, and contained a gross misrepresentation of the resolution of that body therein referred to, and was calculated to mislead the people to whom it was addressed.

7. While Congress were thus resolving to dismiss the petition of the inhabitants of Vermont, and utterly to discountenance their proceedings, the people of Vermont were engaged in forming a constitution for the regulation of their civil government, being fully persuaded that their independence must now be supported with the same firmness and spirit with which it had been declared. The same convention, which had declared the independence of Vermont, met, by adjournment, at Windsor on the first Wednesday of June, and appointed a committee to make a draft of a constitution for the state. They also adopted a resolution, recommending that the several towns appoint delegates to meet in convention at Windsor, on the 2d day of July following, for the purpose of discussing and adopting said constitution.

8. In compliance with the foregoing resolution, the convention assembled at Windsor, on the 2d day of July, and a draft of a constitution was presented and read. While the convention were deliberating upon, and adopting the several articles of this important instrument, they received the news of the evacuation on the 6th of July, of Ticonderoga by the American troops. This event left the whole western border of Vermont exposed to the enemy and spread alarm and consternation through this and the neighboring states. "In this awful crisis," says Allen in his History of Vermont "the convention was for leaving Windsor; but a severe thunder storm came on and gave them time to reflect; while some members less alarmed at the news, called the attention of the convention to finish the constitution, which was then

reading, paragraph by paragraph, for the first time. This was done, and the convention appointed a council of safety to act during their recess, and adjourned.

9. Immediately after the adjournment of the convention, the council of safety of Vermont wrote to the councils of safety of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, setting forth their exposed condition since the abandonment of Ticonderoga, and calling upon them in the most pressing terms for assistance. These communications were dated at Manchester July 15th, 1777. Upon this application the council of safety of New Hampshire immediately convened the assembly of that state, who without delay placed a large body of their militia under the command of General Stark, and ordered him to repair to Charlestown on Connecticut river: consult with the council of Vermont with regard to supplies and future operations; and act in conjunction with the troops of that or any other state, or of the United States, as in his opinion, would tend most advantageously to stop the progress of the enemy on the western frontier. These orders were promptly obeyed, and these troops, in conjunction with those of Vermont, at Bennington, gave the enemy the first effectual check, as related in the preceding chapter.

10. Previous to the adjournment of the convention it had been ordered that the first election under the constitution should take place in December, 1777; and that the representatives then elected, should meet at Bennington in January following. Public attention was, however, so much engrossed by the advance of the enemy under Burgoyne, that the constitution was not printed in season to have the election take place at the time appointed. The convention was, therefore, again called together at Windsor by the council of safety, on the 24th of December, where they revised the constitution, and postponed the day of election to the first Tuesday of March 1778, and

the meeting of the assembly to the second Thursday of the same month.

11. The manner in which these proceedings of Vermont were visited by New Hampshire and New York, is obvious from the style of their communications during this period. In answer to the application of the council of safety of Vermont for assistance, Mr Weare, president of the council of New Hampshire, addressed Vermont as a free and sovereign, but new state, and in such terms as to leave no doubt but that New Hampshire willingly acknowledged her independence. But not so with New York. The proceedings of Vermont, it is true, had changed her policy, but had by no means reconciled her to a relinquishment of her jurisdiction over the grants. In his proclamation addressed to the inhabitants of the grants, February 23d, 1778, the Governor of New York, after confirming their titles to their lands in particular cases and making several concessions in their favor, expressly declares that, that government "*will vigorously maintain its rightful supremacy over the persons and property of those disaffected subjects.*"

12. The overtures in the proclamation of Governor Clinton, from which the above extract is taken, have a semblance of fairness which might have misled a people, less discerning, and less jealous of their rights than they to whom they were addressed. But the people of Vermont had been too long accustomed to a thorough investigation of every point in the controversy not to perceive that these overtures held out no prospect of substantial relief. They perceived at once that New York was now endeavoring to effect that by policy, which she had heretofore vainly attempted by force. They had ever acted upon the conviction that the claims of New York were groundless; and, having now declared their independence and adopted a constitution, they were by no means to be cajoled into an acknowledgement of the "supremacy" of that state. An answer to this proclama-

tion was afterwards published by Ethan Allen, in which he points out its sophistry, shows that its overtures "are all romantic, designed only to deceive woods people," and exhorts his fellow citizens to maintain inviolate the supremacy of the independent state of Vermont, as the only means of security to their persons and property.

SECTION III.

*Controversy with New Hampshire in 1778, and 1779—
Legislative proceedings in Vermont.*

1. After the royal decision of the controversy between New Hampshire and New York, in favor of the latter, in 1764, New Hampshire had made no attempt to continue her jurisdiction over the disputed territory. Hence we have hitherto had occasion to consider the people of Vermont, only in their relation to the government of New York; but the declaration of their independence and the organization of their government were, in their consequences, the occasion of new difficulties, not only with New York, but also with New Hampshire and Massachusetts.

2. The original territory of New Hampshire was granted to John Mason, and was bounded on the west by a line sixty miles from the sea. The lands between this line and Connecticut river, were royal grants, and belonged to New Hampshire by virtue of the commissions of the governors of that province. Vermont had no sooner organized her government than the inhabitants on these lands manifested their desire to dissolve their connexion with New Hampshire and unite with Vermont. In their justification,

they contended, that all the territory west of Mason's grant, had been held in subjection to New Hampshire by force of the royal commissions—that when the royal authority ceased in the colonies, in consequence of the declaration of independence, their allegiance to New Hampshire ceased, and they were left at liberty to form a separate government, or to unite with such neighboring government as would consent to a union.

3. With these views of their relations to New Hampshire, the people on the territory between Mason's grant and Connecticut river, proceeded to make arrangements for proposing a connexion with Vermont. The Legislature of Vermont met, for the first time, on the 12th of March, 1778, at Windsor, and the same day a petition was presented from sixteen towns on the east side of Connecticut river, praying to be admitted to a union with Vermont. The Legislature was much embarrassed by this application. Most of the members from the west side of the mountains regarded the union as a dangerous measure and the majority of the assembly appeared to be against it; yet several of the towns in Vermont on Connecticut river were very desirous that the towns from New Hampshire should be received, and went so far as to propose withdrawing from their connexion with Vermont and setting up another state. In this state of things, and for the purpose of preserving its own union, the Legislature voted, on the 18th of March, 1778, to refer the decision of the question to the people.

4. The Legislature met again by adjournment on the 4th of June, at Bennington, when it appeared that a majority of the towns were in favor of the union with the sixteen towns from New Hampshire; and, June 11th, it was "voted that the union take place—thirty seven in the affirmative and twelve in the negative." It was also voted that any other towns on the east side of Connecticut river might be admitted to a union, on producing a vote of the majority of

the inhabitants, or on their sending a representative to the assembly of Vermont. Having thus effected their purpose, the sixteen towns informed the government of New Hampshire that they had withdrawn from their jurisdiction, and wished the division line to be established and a friendly intercourse to be kept up.

5. Those who were anxious for this union, had represented to the Legislature, that the inhabitants of the sixteen towns were nearly unanimous in their votes to join Vermont, and that New Hampshire, as a state, would not object to their withdrawing from her jurisdiction. But the event proved both these representations to be false. The government of New Hampshire was justly incensed at the proceedings. Mr Weare, President of the Council of New Hampshire, wrote to Congress on the 19th of August, to procure advice, and, in case of necessity, the interference of that body. On the 22d of August, he, in the name of the general assembly of that state, wrote to Mr Chittenden, governor of Vermont, claiming the sixteen towns as a part of New Hampshire. He stated that a large portion of the inhabitants of those towns were opposed to the union, that this minority had claimed the protection of the state, and that the government of New Hampshire considered itself bound to protect them. He urged Governor Chittenden to exert his influence with the Legislature, to dissolve a connexion, which would endanger their peace and probably their political existence.

6. On the reception of this communication, Governor Chittenden convened the council, and it was agreed that Colonel Ethan Allen should repair to Philadelphia and ascertain how the proceedings of Vermont were regarded by Congress. On his return he reported that Congress was unanimously opposed to the proceedings of Vermont in relation to the union with New Hampshire; but that if those pro-

ceedings were disannulled, only the delegates from New York would oppose their independence. The Legislature met again by adjournment on the 8th of October, 1778, at Windsor, and, having received the report of Col Allen, Oct. 13th, they took up the subject of the union.

7. At the first session of the Legislature in March, the state had been divided into two counties, Bennington on the west side of the mountains, and Cumberland on the east. After considering and debating the subject of their connexion with the sixteen towns from New Hampshire, from the 13th to the 21st of October, votes were taken in the Legislature on the following questions, the result of which evinced the determination of a majority of the members to proceed no further in that hazardous experiment.

Question 1st. Shall the counties in this state remain as they were established in March last? This question was decided in the affirmative; yeas 35, nays 26.

Question 2d. Shall the towns on the east side of the Connecticut river, which have been admitted to a union with Vermont, be included in the county of Cumberland? *Question 3d.* Shall said towns be erected into a county by themselves? The last two questions were both decided in the negative; yeas 28, nays 33.

8. Finding by these votes that the Legislature did not incline, at present, to do any thing more on the subject of the union, the representatives from the towns on the east side of the Connecticut, withdrew from the assembly, in which they had been admitted to seats, and were followed by fifteen representatives from towns on the west side of the river, together with the Lieutenant governor, and two of the Council. After these members had withdrawn, the number left was barely sufficient to constitute a quorum. They therefore proceeded to transact the remaining business of the session, and adjourned on the 24th of October, to meet again at Bennington on

the second Thursday of February next, having resolved to refer the subject of the union with New Hampshire to their constituents for instructions how to proceed at their next session.

9. The succeeding members, after entering a formal protest upon the journals against the proceedings of the Assembly, held a meeting at which they made arrangements for calling a convention, to which they invited all the towns, in the vicinity of Connecticut river, to send delegates. The object of this convention was to establish a government in the valley of the Connecticut, the centre and seat of which should be some where upon that stream. The convention met at Cornish, New Hampshire, on the 9th of December, and a union was agreed upon by a majority of the delegates, without any regard to former limits, and a proposal was made to New Hampshire, either to agree with that state upon a division line, or to submit it to Congress, or to arbitrators mutually chosen. In case neither of these proposals was accepted, they proposed that they would consent that all the grants should be united with New Hampshire and altogether become one entire state, coextensive with the claims of New Hampshire previous to the royal decision in 1764. Till one of these proposals was acceded to, they "resolved to trust in providence and defend themselves."

10. Only eight towns on the west side of Connecticut river were represented in this convention, and the delegates from some of these declined taking any part in making the foregoing proposals to New Hampshire. From the proceedings of this convention it became obvious that the whole aim of the leading men in the vicinity of Connecticut river, was to establish such a government as to bring themselves in the centre, and it did not appear to be material with them whether this was effected by a union of a part of New Hampshire with Vermont, or by bring-

ing the whole of Vermont under the jurisdiction of New Hampshire. The people of Vermont were now fully sensible of the impolicy, as well as injustice, of aiding in the dismemberment of New Hampshire, and they were wise enough to embrace the first opportunity to retrace their steps and dissolve a connexion which threatened their ruin.

11. The Legislature of Vermont met at Bennington, according to adjournment, on the 11th of February, 1779, and the next day they voted to dissolve the union which had subsisted between them and the towns in New Hampshire. This determination of the Legislature of Vermont, was immediately communicated to the government of New Hampshire by Ira Allen, and was received while efforts were making to gain the assent of that government to the proposals made by the Cornish convention. Encouraged by these divisions, the Legislature of New Hampshire now resolved to lay claim, not only to the sixteen towns, which had united with Vermont, but to the whole state of Vermont, as grants originally made by that province. Application was made to Congress for a confirmation of this claim, and at the same time New York applied to that body for a confirmation of *her* title to the territory in question.

12. Circumstances connected with these applications convinced the people of Vermont, that they were the result of the intrigues of the leading men in those states, and were designed to effect a division of Vermont between them, by a line along the summit of the Green Mountains. As the other states in general took but little interest in these controversies, and as the adjustment of them was embarrassing to Congress, it was thought that, if New Hampshire and New York should agree, it would be left pretty much to those two states to settle the affairs of Vermont between them, in which case Vermont must certainly lose her separate existence as a state. But

either to disappoint the parties, which appeared to be resolved on the annihilation of Vermont, or for some other cause, Massachusetts now interposed and claimed a portion of the disputed territory, as within her jurisdiction. Thus was Vermont struggling to maintain her independence against the three adjoining states which were all claiming her territory and the right of jurisdiction, nor had her proceedings yet received any countenance of encouragement from the continental Congress.

SECTION IV.

Controversy with New York, New Hampshire and Massachusetts, in 1778—1779, and 1780.

1. During their troubles, resulting from their union with a part of New Hampshire, and which have been mentioned in the preceding section, Vermont was still as deeply as ever involved in the controversy with New York; but now, events transpired in the southeastern part of the county of Cumberland, which gave to that controversy a much more alarming aspect. On the 7th of July, 1778, Governor Clinton wrote to his friends in Vermont, recommending, that wherever the partizans of New York were sufficiently powerful, firm resistance should be made to the draughting of men, the raising of taxes and to all the acts of the "ideal Vermont State;" and also "that associations be formed for mutual defence against this usurpation." At the same time he wrote to Congress, urging their decision of the controversy, and blaming the people of Vermont for the violence of their proceedings.

2. In conformity to the recommendation of Governor Clinton, the friends of New York met in convention at Brattleborough on the 4th of May, 1779, and, hav-

ing organized, drew up a petition to the Governor of New York, in which, after stating the summary manner in which the *pretended* State of Vermont was proceeding to confiscate their property, and various other grievances, they "entreat his Excellency to take immediate measures for protecting the loyal subjects of that part of the state, and for convincing Congress of the impropriety of delaying a decision in a matter, which so nearly concerned the peace, welfare and lives of many of their firm adherents." About the same time a military association was formed for the purpose of opposing the authority of Vermont.

3. In consequence of representing that they had a regiment of 500 men, and of making some other false assertions, several commissions had been obtained from Governor Clinton; and the government of Vermont, therefore, found it necessary to take measures to put a stop to these military movements. Ethan Allen was accordingly ordered by the governor to call out the militia for that purpose. When the adherents of New York were informed of these transactions on the part of Vermont, Col Patterson, who held a commission in the county of Cumberland under the authority of New York, wrote to Governor Clinton, May 5th, for directions how to proceed, and suggesting the necessity of sending the militia of Albany county to his assistance. This letter and the foregoing petition were answered by the governor with assurances of protection; and he recommended that the authority of Vermont should not be acknowledged, except in the alternative of submission or inevitable ruin.

4. On the 18th of May, Governor Clinton wrote to the president of Congress, "that matters were fast approaching to a very serious crisis, which nothing but the immediate interposition of Congress could possibly prevent; that he daily expected he should be obliged to order out a force for the defence of those who adhered to New York; that the wisdom of Congress would suggest to them, what would be

the consequence of submitting the controversy, especially at this juncture, to the decision of the sword; but that justice, the faith of government, the peace and safety of society would not permit them to continue any longer passive spectators of the violence committed on their fellow citizens." This letter and sundry other papers relating to the disputes, were laid before Congress on the 29th of May, 1779, and were referred to a committee of the whole; and on the 1st day of June, Congress resolved "that a committee be appointed to repair to the inhabitants of a certain district, known by the name of the New Hampshire grants, and enquire into the reasons why they refuse to continue citizens of the respective states, which have claimed jurisdiction over the said district. And that they take every prudent measure to promote an amicable settlement; and to prevent divisions and animosities, so prejudicial to the United States".

5. While Congress was engaged in passing these resolutions, Allen marched with an armed force and made prisoners of the Colonel and other officers who were acting under the authority of New York. Complaint was immediately made to Governor Clinton, with an earnest request that he would take speedy measures for their relief. Governor Clinton wrote again to Congress on the 5th of June stating what had taken place, disapproving of the resolutions of Congress before mentioned, and requesting that the committee, appointed to repair to the New Hampshire grants, might postpone their visit till after the next meeting of the New York Legislature. June 16th, Congress resolved that the officers captured by Allen should be liberated, and that the committee above mentioned be directed to inquire into the circumstances of that transaction.

6. Of the five commissioners appointed to repair to Vermont two only attended—Dr Witherspoon and Mr Atlee. These gentlemen repaired to Bennington in June, had several conferences with the

friends of Vermont, and, also, with others, who were in the interest of New York. It seems to have been the aim of these commissioners to effect a reconciliation between the parties; but it appears from the report, which they made to Congress on the 13th of July, that they did not succeed in accomplishing the object of their mission. Four parties were now claiming the same tract of country, and each of these parties had applied to Congress for a decision of the controversy. Under such circumstances Congress could not well avoid taking up the matter and among others, on the 24th of September, 1779, passed several resolutions, the substance of which was as follows;

7. Resolved that it be earnestly recommended, that New Hampshire, Massachusetts and New York expressly authorize Congress to determine their disputes relative to their respective boundaries—and that on the first of February next, Congress will proceed to settle and determine the same, according to equity. It was, moreover, declared to be the duty of those inhabitants of the New Hampshire grants, who did not acknowledge the jurisdiction of either of the above named states, to refrain from exercising any power over such of the inhabitants as did acknowledge such jurisdiction, and it was likewise recommended to the said states to refrain, in the mean time, from executing their laws over such inhabitants as did not acknowledge their respective jurisdictions.

8. From the whole tenor of these resolutions, it was evident that Congress wished for the present to pacify the parties, without coming to any decision upon the matter in dispute; and it was equally evident that she would prefer sacrificing Vermont as a separate jurisdiction, to a rupture at this time with either of the states, which laid claim to that territory. Nor shall we be surprised at this partial and evasive policy, when we consider that the successful termination of the war for independence, which was then undecided, and the fate of the colonies generally de-

pended upon the integrity of their union in the common cause.

9. Those resolutions seem to have quieted all parties but Vermont. New Hampshire and New York complied with the recommendations and authorized Congress to settle the dispute. Massachusetts did not comply, and she probably neglected it for the purpose of relieving Congress from the necessity of deciding the matter at the time appointed and of preventing the sacrifice of Vermont. A compliance with these resolutions on the part of Vermont, would have been to admit the existence of four separate jurisdictions at the same time in the same territory, and in a territory too, the inhabitants of which had declared themselves to be free and independent, and had assumed the powers of government and exercised them in all cases and in every part of the territory. No alternative therefore remained to Vermont. She had taken a decisive stand—declared her independence—*formed* a constitution—enacted laws, and established courts of justice, and now nothing remained for her but to go onward with firmness and resolution; and happy was it for her that she possessed statesmen endowed with courage and abilities suited to the emergency of her condition; statesmen who well understood the rights and interests of the community and were determined that they should not be sacrificed by the neighboring states, or by the policy of Congress.

10. On the 10th day of December, 1779, the governor and council of Vermont, in reference to the foregoing resolutions of Congress, published an appeal to the candid and impartial world, in which they declared that they could not view themselves as holden, either in the sight of God, or man, to submit to the execution of a plan, which they had reason to believe was commenced by neighboring states; that the liberties and privileges of the state of Vermont, by said resolutions are to be suspended upon

the arbitrament and final determination of Congress, when, in their opinion, they were things too sacred ever to be arbitrated upon at all; and what they were bound to defend at every risk: that Congress had no right to intermeddle in the internal policy and government of Vermont;—that the state existed independent of any of the thirteen United States, and was not accountable to them, or to their representatives, for liberty, the gift of the benevolent Creator;—

11. That the state of Vermont was not represented in Congress, and could not submit to resolutions passed without their consent, or even knowledge, and which put every thing which was valuable to them at stake;—that there appeared a manifest inequality, not to say predetermination, that Congress should request of their constituents power to judge and determine in the cause, and never ask the consent of the thousands whose all was at stake. They also declared that they were, and ever had been, ready to bear their proportion of the burden and expense of the war with Great Britain from its commencement, whenever they were admitted into the union with the other states. But they were not so lost to all sense, and honor, that, after four years of war with Britain, in which they had expended so much blood and treasure, they should now give up every thing worth fighting for,—the right of making their own laws, and choosing their own form of government,—to the arbitrament and determination of any man, or body of men, under heaven.”

12. Congress, as already noticed, had appointed the first day of February, 1780, for considering and determining the matters in question; but contrary to the wishes and expectations of all the parties, the subject was not called up. Congress, however, ordered, on the 21st of March, that, as there were not nine states represented in that body, exclusive of the parties concerned, the matter should be, for the pres

ent, postponed, but on the 2d of June, resumed the consideration of it, and among other things resolved "that the proceedings of the people on the New Hampshire grants, were highly unwarrantable and subversive of the peace and welfare of the United States, and that they be strictly required to abstain from all acts of authority, civil or military, over those inhabitants who profess allegiance to other states." The subject was again called up on the 9th of June, and the further consideration of it postponed to the second Tuesday of September following.

13. The foregoing resolutions and proceedings of Congress were communicated to Governor Chittenden, who laid the same before his council; and on the 25th of July, they replied, in a communication addressed to the president of Congress, that "however Congress may view those resolutions, they are considered by the people of this state, as being in their nature, subversive of the natural rights which they had to liberty and independence, as well as incompatible with the principles on which Congress grounded their own right to independence, and had a natural and direct tendency to endanger the liberties of America; that Vermont, being a free and independent state, had denied the authority of Congress to judge of their jurisdiction;—

14. That as they were not included in the thirteen United States, if necessitated to it, they were at liberty to offer or accept terms of cessation of hostilities with Great Britain, without the approbation of any other man, or body of men." And they further declared that if Congress and the neighboring states persisted in the course they were pursuing, they could have no motives to continue hostilities with Great Britain, and maintain an important frontier for the benefit of a country which treated them as slaves. Yet, notwithstanding the injustice done them, they were induced, by their attachment to the cause of liberty, once more to offer union with the United

States, of which Congress were the legal representative body."

15. All parties now anxiously awaited the decision of Congress on the second Tuesday of September, and, although Vermont denied the authority of Congress to determine the matter, she judged it prudent to employ Ira Allen and Stephen R. Bradley, as her agents, to attend the deliberations upon the subject. On the 19th of September, Congress took up the subject of the controversy and the agents from Vermont were permitted to be present, but not as the representatives of any state, or of a people invested with legislative authority. New Hampshire and New York now urged, and endeavored to prove, their respective claims to the disputed territory, and it soon became evident to the agents that Congress did not regard Vermont as a party in the controversy, but that, in attempting to decide the dispute between New Hampshire and New York, she was adjudicating upon the very existence of Vermont without her consent.

16. Alarmed and indignant at these proceedings, the agents withdrew their attendance, and on the 22d of September, transmitted a remonstrance to Congress, in which they declare they can no longer sit as idle spectators, without betraying the trust reposed in them, and doing violence to their own feelings; that by the mode of trial which was adopted, the state of Vermont could have no bearing without denying her own existence, and that *they* would not take on themselves such humility and self abasement as to lose their political life in order to find it. They expressed the willingness of Vermont to submit the dispute to the mediation and settlement of the legislatures of disinterested states, but reprobated the idea that Congress could sit as a court of judicature and determine the matter by virtue of authority given them by one only of the parties. They conclude by observing, that, if the present policy be pursued by

Congress, they are ready to appeal to God and the world, to say who must be accountable for the awful consequence that may ensue.

17. On the 27th of September, Congress again resumed the subject of the controversy, and, having heard the evidence on the part of New Hampshire, resolved, that the further consideration of the matter be postponed; and this was doubtless the wisest course of policy which Congress could pursue under existing circumstances. The contest with the mother country was yet undecided, and its issue doubtful, and the grounds which the several parties in the dispute had assumed were such, that Congress could not hope to make a decision, which would satisfy them all; and to irritate either of the states concerned, to such a degree as to drive them to an abandonment of the common cause, might paralyze the efforts of Congress and prevent the attainment of that liberty and independence for which they were struggling.

SECTION V.

Union of Vermont with a part of New Hampshire and a part of New York in 1781.

1. The indefinite postponement of the decision of the controversy by Congress, as mentioned in the preceding section, was by no means agreeable to Vermont. She well knew the ground on which she stood, and although this postponement evinced that her claims to independence had made some impression on the mind of Congress, yet it forbade the hope of an immediate recognition of that independence, and her admission into the union. And, moreover, being irritated by the course pursued by New Hampshire and New York, in substantiating their claims, and being wounded by the humiliating treatment,

which her agents had received from Congress, Vermont now resolved upon a course of policy, which would enable her to assume a more imposing attitude, and induce her opponents to yield to power what had been so long denied to the claims of justice.

2. Since the dissolution of the union between Vermont and the sixteen towns from New Hampshire, most of the inhabitants in the western part of New Hampshire were still anxious to be annexed to Vermont: there were however, some among them who wished New Hampshire to sustain her claim and extend her jurisdiction over the whole of Vermont. To facilitate the accomplishment of the object last mentioned, a convention was proposed to be assembled at Charlestown, and letters were sent by several influential men, in the interest of New Hampshire, into the western towns inviting them to send representatives. Accordingly, representatives from forty three towns assembled at Charlestown on the 16th of January, 1781; but, to the surprise and disappointment of those who had proposed the measure, a large majority of the convention were found to be opposed to the jurisdiction of New Hampshire and in favor of a union with Vermont.

3. A committee was therefore appointed by the convention to confer with Vermont on the subject of the union. This committee, on the 10th day of February, informed the assembly of Vermont, then sitting at Windsor, that "the convention of the New Hampshire towns, was desirous of being united with Vermont, in one separate independent government, upon such principles as should be mutually thought the most equitable and beneficial to the state." This application was referred to a committee of the whole, on the report of which it was resolved, February 14th, that "in order to quiet the present disturbances on the two sides of Connecticut river, and the better to enable the inhabitants to defend their frontier, the legislature of this state do lay a *jurisdictional claim* to

all the lands east of Connecticut river, north of Massachusetts, west of Mason's line and south of latitude 45 degrees; but that they will not for the time being exercise said jurisdiction."

4. The convention of the New Hampshire towns was at this time sitting at Cornish on the opposite side of the river, and, after repeated communications between the committee of this convention, and a committee of the Legislature of Vermont, the articles of union were finally agreed upon. By these articles it was stipulated that the constitution of Vermont should be adopted by the New Hampshire towns—that application should be made to Congress to be admitted as one of the United States—that full act of oblivion be passed for all former offences against Vermont by persons denying her jurisdiction—and that the towns in Vermont, and also the New Hampshire towns, should be called upon to express their opinions of the proposed union; and if, at the adjourned session of the assembly, in April next, it should appear that two thirds of each were in favor of the measure the union should then be consummated, and representatives should be admitted to the assembly from the New Hampshire towns. These articles, agreed upon by the committees, were confirmed by the assembly, which pledged the faith of the state that they should be held sacred.

5. The assembly of Vermont met again at Windsor agreeable to adjournment, on the 4th of April, and the convention of the New Hampshire towns also re-assembled at Cornish. On the 5th of April, a committee of the convention informed the assembly that thirty five towns on the east side of Connecticut river had consented to the union, being all the towns from which returns had been received; and that the way was now clear on their part for the union to take place. On examining the returns, which had been forwarded from the towns in Vermont, it appeared that thirty six were in favor and seven oppos-

ed to the union ; whereupon a committee was appointed to inform the convention that a major part of the towns in Vermont had agreed to the union, and that the assembly would receive the members returned from the New Hampshire towns, on the morrow, at nine o'clock in the morning. Accordingly, on the next day, thirty five representatives from towns on the east side of Connecticut river, took their seats in the General Assembly of Vermont.

6. On account of the unjustifiable measures, by which New York was endeavoring to embarrass and overturn the government of Vermont, and in consequence of repeated solicitations from several towns in New York, which bordered on Vermont, to be taken into union with this state, the Legislature of Vermont had, on the 14th of February, 1781, laid jurisdictional claim to all the lands west of her present territory, and east of Hudson river to the head thereof, and thence east of a north line extending to the 45th degree of north latitude ; with the proviso, that this jurisdiction should not be exercised for the time being. But Vermont, having now completed her eastern union, once more turned her attention to that on the west. On the 11th of April, 1781, a committee was appointed by the general assembly to attend a convention of delegates from the towns in New York, which desired a union with Vermont, and make the necessary arrangement for effecting it. This convention met at Cambridge, and on the 15th of May, the articles of union were agreed to by the committee from Vermont and the delegates from twelve districts in New York ; and on the 16th of June following, they were confirmed by the Legislature of Vermont, and representatives from those districts were admitted to seats in the general assembly.

7. By these bold and decisive measures, Vermont placed herself in an interesting attitude, and evinced to the world the abilities and the peculiar genius, of

her statesmen. Than the measures which we have just recorded, no course of policy could be better calculated to enable her to sustain her independence and thwart the designs of her enemies. By the unions, thus formed, she had doubled the extent of territory within her jurisdiction and added greatly to her numbers and resources. She had quieted the disaffection of her people at home, and restored confidence to her friends abroad. She had placed the territory in a condition to invite emigration from the neighboring states, and had laid the foundation for a large and powerful community. In short she had placed herself in a condition to command the respect, even of her enemies, and to draw from them, concessions which justice alone had sought in vain. She therefore wisely determined, so to manage her own affairs, as to secure her own safety and independence, against the arms of the British on the north, and the wiles of her enemies in other quarters. The manner in which this was effected will be related in the following section,

SECTION VI.

Negotiation with the British in Canada from 1780, to 1783.

1. From the commencement of hostilities at Lexington, no people in America had espoused the cause of liberty and of their country with greater alacrity, or sustained it with more spirit and resolution, than the people of Vermont. Yet, after all their efforts and sacrifices in the common cause, they had the mortification to find themselves denied a just participation of the blessings which they had labored to secure. Their claims to independence were not acknowledged by Congress; the cession of a part of their territory and the annihilation of their sovereignty were threatened by the intrigues, and the unjust

claims of the neighboring states, and, to crown the whole, they were now abandoned by the power which ought to protect them, and left to contend single handed with the common enemy.

2. But notwithstanding their attachment to the cause of their country, the people of Vermont could not fail to perceive that every step which they took to support it, only rendered their own condition more hopeless. They could hardly wish to lend their aid for the purpose of bringing the struggle with a foreign enemy to a successful termination, when they perceived that, by such an event, they should be subjected to the domination of a more detestable enemy at home. In this state of things, Vermont wisely consulted her own safety; and by the negotiation with the enemy in Canada, in which she now engaged, she was as fortunate as to secure it.

3. The British generals in America had for some time entertained hopes of turning the disputes in relation to Vermont to their own account, by detaching that district from the American cause and making it a British province. But the first intimation of their views and wishes was communicated in a letter from Colonel Beverly Robinson to Ethan Allen; dated New York, March 30th, 1780. In July, this letter was delivered to Allen in the street in Arlington, by a British soldier in the habit of an American farmer. Allen perused the letter, and then told the bearer that he should consider it, and that he might return.

4. Colonel Robinson began his letter by expressing a wish that his proposals might be received with the same good intention with which they were made. He then proceeds:—"I have often been informed that you and most of the inhabitants of Vermont, are opposed to the wild and chimerical scheme of the Americans in attempting to separate from Great Britain and establish an independent government of their own; and that you would willingly assist in uniting America to Great Britain, and in restoring that happy

constitution so wantonly and unadvisedly destroyed. If I have been rightly informed, and these should be your sentiments and inclination, I beg that you will communicate to me without reserve, whatever proposals you would wish to make to the commander-in-chief; and I hereby promise that I will faithfully lay them before him according to your directions, and flatter myself I can do with as good effect as any person whatever. I can make no proposals to you until I know your sentiments; but think, upon your taking an active part and embodying the inhabitants of Vermont, under the crown of England, you may obtain a separate government under the king.—If you should think proper to send a friend here with proposals to the general, he shall be protected and allowed to return whenever he pleases.”

5. Allen immediately communicated the contents of this letter to Governor Chittenden and some other confidential friends, who agreed in opinion, that no answer should be returned. Robinson, not receiving a reply to his letter and supposing it to have been mis-carried, wrote again to Allen on the 2d of February, 1781, enclosing his former letter. In his second letter, after saying he had received new assurances of the inclination of Vermont to join the king's cause, he said that he could then write with more authority; and assured Allen that he and the people of Vermont could obtain the most favorable terms, provided they would take a decisive and active part in favor of Great Britain. He requested an answer; and, that the way might be pointed out for continuing the correspondence; and desired to be informed in what manner the people of Vermont could be most serviceable to the British cause.

6. Allen returned no answer to either of these letters; but, on the 9th of March, 1781, inclosed them in a letter to Congress, informing them of all the circumstances, which had thus far attended the business. He then proceeded to justify the conduct of Vermont in

asserting her right to independence, and expressed his determinate resolution to do every thing in his power to establish it. Conscious of his own integrity, and sensible that his activity and sufferings in the cause of his country were well known throughout America, he expressed himself in the following independent and decided language.

7. "I am confident," said he, "that Congress will not dispute my sincere attachment to the cause of my country, though I do not hesitate to say, I am fully grounded in opinion, that Vermont has an indubitable right to agree on terms of a cessation of hostilities with Great Britain, provided the United States persist in rejecting her application for an union with them. For Vermont would be, of all people, most miserable, were she obliged to defend the independence of the United States; and they be, at the same time, at full liberty to overturn and ruin the independence of Vermont. When Congress consider the circumstances of this case, they will, I am persuaded, be more surprised that I have transmitted them the inclosed letters, than that I have kept them in custody so long; for I am as resolutely determined to defend the independence of Vermont, as Congress is that of the United States; and rather than fail, *I will retire with the hardy Green Mountain Boys, into the desolate caverns of the Mountains, and wage war with human nature at large.*"

8. During the spring of 1780, some of the scouting parties, belonging to Vermont, had been taken by the British and carried prisoners to Canada. On the application of their friends to Governor Chittenden, he, in the month of July, sent a flag, with a letter to the commanding officer in Canada, requesting their release or exchange. In the fall, the British came up lake Champlain in great force, and a very favorable answer was returned by General Haldimand to Governor Chittenden's letter. A flag was at the same time sent to Ethan Allen, then a brigadier

dier general and commanding officer in Vermont, proposing a cessation of hostilities with Vermont, during negotiations for the exchange of prisoners. This proposal was accepted by Allen, on condition that the adjacent frontier of New York should be included with Vermont. The British officer at first objected, but finally agreed to every thing which Allen proposed.

9. The governor appointed Colonel Ira Allen and Major Joseph Fay, commissioners on the part of Vermont, to negotiate the proposed exchange of prisoners; who, soon after, had an interview with Captain J. Sherwood and George Smith, agents on the part of the British. During this interview, the British agents availed themselves of the opportunity to explain their views, and to make proposals for the establishment of Vermont under the royal authority. The commissioners from Vermont received these proposals with some attention; and, although they avoided expressing a decided opinion on the subject, the British flattered themselves that they were in a fair way to effect their purposes.

10. The next year the British entered upon the business with high expectations of success; and as the British army in Canada was 10,000 strong, and the frontiers of Vermont without any adequate means of defence, it was evidently the interest of Vermont not to deceive them, but to endeavor to effect that by policy, which they could not do by power. And as the cabinet council of Vermont believed, that the forces of the United States had been withdrawn from her territory, for the purpose of driving them to seek the protection of New York, they felt that it was clearly their duty, by managing the British attempts to corrupt them to their own advantage, to make the best provision, remaining in their power, for the safety of the people.

11. In April, 1781, Col Ira Allen was appointed to settle a cartel with the British for an exchange of

prisoners. Taking with him one subaltern, two servants, and sixteen privates, he started, with a fair wind, on the 1st day of May, and soon arrived at the Isle Aux Noix, where he was politely received by Maj. Dundas, the British commander at that post. The cartel was soon agreed to, and the British agents, Sherwood and Smith, now entered upon the subject of the armistice and the establishment of the royal authority in Vermont with high hopes of accomplishing their object. Allen acknowledged that the people of Vermont were growing remiss in the prosecution of the war, being afraid that its termination in favor of America would subject them to the government of New York, which they considered the most detestable in the known world; and that, to such an event, they would prefer to become a separate colony under the crown, and that the United States should be again brought under the dominion of the British government.

12. The British agents gave assurance on their part, that Vermont could become a royal colony with privileges equal to those enjoyed by any other colony; and that they who assisted in accomplishing such an object, would be suitably honored and rewarded. With such consummate skill did Allen manage this negotiation on the part of Vermont, that without committing himself, he completely adopted his own views; and by leading the British agents to an agreement that hostilities should not be commenced against Vermont, till after the next session of the assembly, he succeeded in keeping an army of 10000 of the enemy inactive upon the frontiers. This business was accomplished after a conference of 17 days, and the commissioners parted in high friendship; Allen and his suite being furnished by Maj. Dundas with ample stores for their return home. On his way Allen encouraged the settlers, who were abandoning the country, to remain peaceably upon their farms, and trust to the

governor and council to provide the means for their defence; and he assured them, that, if a removal became necessary for the safety of their families, they should have timely notice, and assistance in accomplishing it.

13. It was generally known that Colonel Ira Allen had been sent to the enemy in Canada under a commission from the Governor of Vermont, but the precise object and extent of the negotiations, were known only to eight individuals, viz. Thomas Chittenden, Moses Robinson, Samuel Safford, Ethan Allen, Ira Allen, Timothy Brownson, John Fassett, and Joseph Fay. And when it was understood that Colonel Allen was to report the result of his mission at the meeting of the Legislature at Bennington, in June, curiosity and a desire to know the true state of affairs, drew together a large number of spectators from Vermont, the neighboring states, and Canada. The whigs in Vermont and the adjoining states were jealous that the views of the cabinet council of Vermont extended to something farther than an exchange of prisoners; they therefore sent their agents to watch the Legislature and to discover whether this intercourse tended to any thing treasonable on the part of Vermont, or injurious to the American cause. While, on the other hand, emissaries were sent from Canada to see whether Colonel Allen reported any thing contrary to the views interchanged between him and the British agents at the Isle aux Noix, with regard to the establishment of Vermont as a British province.

14. A few days after the commencement of the session, the two houses met in joint committee on the subject of Colonel Allen's mission to Canada. Governor Chittenden arose and stated, that Colonel Allen had been sent to Canada to obtain the release, or exchange, of sundry persons belonging to this state, who were prisoners in the hands of the enemy, and that, with much difficulty, he had completed the business in behalf of Vermont, though no such exchange

had taken place with the United States, nor with any other individual state. He then informed the committee that Colonel Allen was then present, and that, if further information was wanted, he could best give it. Colonel Allen then arose and, after recapitulating substantially what the governor had stated, informed the committee that his commission and papers had been left at home, but that they should be submitted to their inspection the next day.

15. Accordingly, on the next day, he attended with the papers, which, after a short verbal explanation, were read. From these it appeared that the British had shown great generosity in the exchange of prisoners, but they contained nothing respecting an armistice, or the establishment of a royal government in Vermont; the negotiations on the two latter subjects having been purposely conducted on the part of Vermont by means of verbal correspondence. Colonel Allen then rose and stated, that if any member of the committee, or auditor among the spectators, wished any further information respecting the business, he was ready to answer their questions. All seemed satisfied. The friends of the United States complimented Allen for his open and candid conduct and the spectators from Canada returned fully satisfied that nothing had transpired inconsistent with their views and designs.

16. At this session of the Legislature Major Joseph Fay was appointed "commissioner of prisoners," and in July, he went on board the Royal George on lake Champlain, and obtained the exchange and a further extension of the armistice. About this time a correspondence was carried on between Ethan and Ira Allen on one part and the British on the other, by means of a British guard of a sergeant and eight men. This guard conveyed the communications from the British officers to Sunderland, where they were received by one of the Allens personally in the dusk of the evening, who, the next evening, returned an answer.

which was conveyed by them to lake Champlain. And it is worthy of remark, that communications were frequently interchanged in this manner, during the years 1781, and 1782, without discovery, notwithstanding Sunderland was more than 60 miles from the frontier.

17. While this friendly intercourse was thus maintained between the British and a few of the leading men in Vermont, the people generally were very inveterate in their hatred towards the British and Tories. A person in Arlington, being supposed to entertain friendly feelings towards the British, a party collected in Manchester and were proceeding to tear down his house. In Sunderland they were met by the Messrs Brownsons and Ira Allen who, with much difficulty persuaded them to return. That very night Colonel Allen received a packet from a British guard upon the same ground where this party were persuaded to go back, and returned an answer the next evening.

18. Jonas Fay, Bezaleel Woodward, and Ira Allen were appointed agents to Congress by the Legislature at their session in June. About the time of their arrival at Philadelphia, a letter from Lord Germain to Sir Henry Clinton, commander of the British forces in America, and which had been intercepted by the French, was published in the Pennsylvania Packet. It was dated Whitehall, February 7th, 1781, and among other things contained the following paragraph. "The return of the people of Vermont to their allegiance, is an event of the utmost importance to the king's affairs; and at this time, if the French and Washington really meditate an irruption into Canada, may be considered as opposing an insurmountable bar to the attempt. General Haldimand, who has the same instructions with you, to draw over those people and give them support, will, I doubt not, push up a body of troops, to act in conjunction with them and secure all the avenues

through their country into Canada ; and, when the season admits, take possession of the upper parts of the Hudson and Connecticut rivers, and cut off the communication between Albany and the Mohawk country. How far they may be able to extend themselves southward, or eastward, must depend on their numbers and the disposition of the inhabitants."

19. The information contained in this letter was calculated to confirm the suspicions which the friends of American liberty had entertained with regard to the negotiations between Vermont and the British, and did more towards disposing Congress to recognize the independence of Vermont and to gain her an admission into the union, than all her sacrifices and services in maintaining the war. This letter also shows that not only the British generals in America were deceiving themselves with the idea that Vermont was about to return to her allegiance to the king, but that the British ministry were also deceived ; and supposed that the people of Vermont were generally desirous that their state should be made a British province, when perhaps not more than a dozen individuals within the state had ever thought or spoke of such an event ; and these had only countenanced the idea of it, when urged to such a measure by the British agents, and then only for the purpose of keeping the northern British army inactive upon their frontiers and affording the people protection by their management when they could not do it by force.

20. In September, 1781, Colonel Allen and Major Fay, had another interview with the British agents, at which a plan of government for the colony of Vermont was discussed and agreed upon by the parties. It was to consist of a governor, appointed by the king, but who should be a citizen of Vermont ; a lieutenant governor and 12 councillors, who should be chosen by the people ; and a house of representa-

tives, the members to be chosen by the respective towns. The British agents then insisted that Vermont should immediately declare herself a British province. The Vermont commissioners represented that matters were not yet sufficiently matured for such a declaration—that the inhabitants in some parts of the territory were not yet sufficiently brought over to the British interests, and, until that was effected, and means provided for the purpose, it would be extremely difficult to defend their extensive frontiers against the United States.

21. The British agents yielded this point with reluctance; but suggested another proposition, which they said must be complied with, or the armistice must be ended, which was, that a proclamation should be issued by the British general in October, during the session of the Vermont Legislature, declaring Vermont a colony under the crown, and confirming the plan of government which they had agreed on; and that the Legislature of Vermont must accept the same, and take suitable measures for carrying it into effect. After some farther discussion, the Vermont commissioners judged it better to accede to this unpleasant proposition, than that the armistice should be discontinued in the present defenceless state of the frontiers; after which, the commissioners and agents separated on friendly terms.

22. The Legislature of Vermont met at Charlestown early in October, and about the same time Gen. St Leger ascended lake Champlain with a powerful British army and landed at Ticonderoga. The Vermont troops were then at Castleton, under the command of Gen. Enos. Gen. Enos and Colonels Fletcher and Walbridge were now well acquainted with the negotiation with the British, but the army and the inhabitants of the country knew nothing of it; and hence it was necessary to keep up appearances by frequently sending out scouts to observe the movements of the enemy. One of these scouts, commanded by Sergeant Tupper, fell in with a

party of the British and some shots were exchanged. Tupper was killed on the spot, and his men retreated. Gen. St Leger ordered Tupper's body to be decently buried, and sent his clothing with an open letter to Gen. Enos, in which he expressed his regret for the death of the sergeant. This communication and the apparel were publicly delivered to Gen. Enos, and were the occasion of much murmuring among the troops.

23. Letters were immediately written by General Enos and Colonels Fletcher and Wallbridge, and forwarded by express to Governor Chittenden at Charlestown. The bearer, Mr Hathaway, not being in the secret of the negotiation with the British, proclaimed the extraordinary message of General St Leger in the streets of Charlestown, in consequence of which the people followed him in crowds to the governor's apartment to hear the news. In the room with the governor were several persons, some of whom were in the secret, and some, who were eager after information that they might make an ill use of it. On opening the letters, they were found, besides announcing the arrival of General St Leger, to contain information respecting the negotiation which it was not deemed prudent to make public.

24. While these letters were passing round among those who were in the secret, Major Rummels entered the room and demanded of Colonel Allen why General St Leger should be sorry Tupper was killed. Allen said he would not tell. Rummels repeated the question; and Allen replied that good men were sorry when good men were killed, which might be the case with St Leger. This answer enraged Rummels, and he again loudly demanded what reasons could possibly induce a British general to be sorry when his enemy was killed and to send his clothes to his widow. Colonel Allen then requested Major Rummels to go to his regiment, and, at the head of that, demand of St Leger the reasons of his sorrows; and not stay

there asking impertinent questions and eating up the country's provisions, when the frontiers were invaded. Some high words followed between them, which called the attention of those present from the letters, and Rumels soon after left the room.

25. The governor then convened the board of war, all of whom were in the secret, and Hathaway was left to detail the news to the populace. New letters were then made out from those received, in which every thing relating to the negotiation and armistice was suppressed. These were substituted for the original, and were publicly read before the council and assembly for the satisfaction of the people. In the mean time Colonel Allen and Major Fay, wrote to the British agents that matters were going on favorably to their designs, but as a report prevailed, that Cornwallis and his army had surrendered to the Americans, which was doubtless unfounded, they thought it inexpedient to publish the proposed proclamation till more favorable news should remove all doubts with regard to the ability of the British to sustain Vermont in the measures which she should adopt.

26. About an hour after this communication was delivered at Ticonderoga, an express arrived there from the south, with the news of the capture of Cornwallis and his whole army, and before night the British embarked all their troops and stores, and returned to Canada. Thus were the negotiators in Vermont relieved from their embarrassment and danger, which would have been much increased by the publication of the proposed proclamation; and thus was terminated the campaign of 1781, in which a few sagacious and daring individuals, secured, by their negotiations and management, the extensive frontier of Vermont, which was exposed to an army of ten thousand of the enemy.

27. In the winter of 1782, the British in Canada were extremely anxious to ascertain how the people

of Vermont were affected by the capture of Cornwallis. Their agents wrote, on the 28th of Feb. and again on the 22d of April, in the most pressing terms for information, and stating that the commander in chief had full powers to confirm every article which had been agreed upon at a former interview for the establishment of Vermont as a royal government. Impatient at not receiving an answer, they wrote again on the 30th of April, making new offers and promises, and designating several individuals in Vermont for whom his excellency was authorized and disposed to provide in the distribution of the royal favors, and in several cases assured them what commissions they should receive.

28. In July, Colonel Ira Allen was again sent to Canada with a letter from Governor Chittenden to General Haldimand, requesting the release of two officers, belonging to Vermont, who were then prisoners in the hands of the British. The British agents thought this a favorable opportunity for bringing the negotiations with Vermont to a decision, and used every art to persuade Vermont immediately to declare herself a British province. Allen employed every argument to justify Vermont for delaying ti, and to prevent the renewal of hostilities. Haldimand was finally prevailed upon to continue the armistice and to liberate the prisoners above mentioned. He then wrote to Governor Chittenden, announcing his pacific disposition towards Vermont in the most unequivocal terms, and requesting the people of Vermont, without apprehension, to encourage and promote the settlement and cultivation of the country for the interest and happiness of themselves and their posterity.

29. With this year terminated the war and the negotiations, leaving favorable impressions on the minds of the British towards Vermont. Of the beneficial effects of the policy pursued, to Vermont and to the union, there can be no doubt, but of the jus-

tice of this course there may be some question. On the part of the British the negotiation consisted of repeated endeavors to persuade the leading men in Vermont, to abandon the American cause and declare the state a British province. To these, the leaders in Vermont returned evasive and ambiguous answers, calculated indeed to keep alive the hopes of the British, but not in any way to pledge the government of Vermont. The leading men in Vermont were known to be as firm friends of American independence, as any individuals on the continent; but, abandoned as Vermont was by Congress, and exposed to the overwhelming force of the enemy, no other means of security remained but that artful policy, which we have just described; and which kept a powerful British army inactive on the northern frontier of the union during three successive campaigns.

SECTION VII.

Indian depredations upon the settlements in Vermont.

1. Having now completed our account of the civil policy of Vermont during the war for independence, excepting such parts as relate particularly to the admission of Vermont into the federal union and which are referred to the next chapter, we shall here give a brief account of the depredations of the Indians upon our settlements, and notice some other things which have been omitted in the preceding narrative. Previous to the conquest of Canada, in 1760, the French and English nations were engaged in almost perpetual war, and in these wars their colonies and Indian allies were always involved. During their continuence the frontier English settle-

ments were frequently broken up and the inhabitants either massacred or carried into captivity. Some account of these transactions in the vicinity of Vermont, has already been given in the first chapter. But as very few settlements were made within our limits while Canada was in possession of the French, the first settlers of Vermont suffered less from the incursions of the Indians than those of some of the other states.

2. We have already mentioned that the inhabitants of Vernon were attacked and several of them slain by the Indians, in 1746, and that Bridgeman's fort was taken and destroyed by them the next year. This place again received a hostile visit in 1755. On the 27th of July, of this year, Caleb Howe, Hilkiah Grout, and Benjamin Gaffield were way-laid and fired upon by a party of Indians, as they were returning from their labor in the field. Howe was killed, Gaffield was drowned in attempting to ford the river and Grout escaped unhurt. The Indians then proceeded to Bridgeman's fort, which had been repaired, where they made prisoners of the families of these three men, consisting of their wives and eleven children, being all the persons in the fort. These were all carried to Canada where they were doomed to suffer a long and cruel captivity. Most of them, however, were afterwards redeemed and returned to their friends.

3. In 1756, as Captain Melvin at the head of about 20 men, was marching through the wilderness from Charlestown, New Hampshire, to Hoosac fort, and when in the southerly part of New Fane, which was then uninhabited, he was fired upon by a large party of Indians, who were lying in ambush. A severe conflict ensued, in which both parties suffered considerably in killed and wounded. Melvin's party was at length overpowered by numbers and was obliged to leave the field in possession of the enemy. Melvin and several of his number made their escape

and arrived safely at fort Dummer. The next day he returned to the battle ground, with a party from fort Dummer. The Indians were not to be found, but the bodies of those who were slain, were collected and buried.

4. At the time of the American revolution the number of Indians residing in the vicinity of Vermont, was greatly diminished ; and as the Americans, at the commencement of that struggle, got possession of the military posts along lake Champlain, these few, had, for a while, no opportunity to molest our settlements. But when the American army retreated from Canada in 1776, and the British had attained the command of lake Champlain, our western borders were wholly at the mercy of the enemy, and continued so during the remainder of the war. All the settlements in the vicinity of the lake were broken up, and the settlers retired with their families to the southward. The frontier military posts were at Castleton and Pittsford, on the west side of the mountains, and at Barnard, Corinth, Newbury, and Peacham, on the east side.

5. During the last French war a military road had been opened from Charlestown to Crown Point, which was now very beneficial to the Americans, and early in the spring of 1776, General Bailey was ordered to open a road from Newbury, through the wilderness, to St Johns, for the purpose of facilitating the conveyance of troops and provisions into Canada. He had opened the road six miles above Peacham, when the news arrived that our army had retreated from Canada, and the undertaking was abandoned. But in 1779, General Hazen was ordered to Peacham with part of a regiment, for the purpose, as was said, of completing the road begun by Bailey, so that an army might be sent through for the reduction of Canada. But this was probably only a feint for dividing the enemy and preventing them from sending their whole force up the lake. Hazen, however,

continued the road fifty miles above Peacham, through the towns of Cabot, Walden, Hardwick, Greensborough, Craftsbury, Albany and Lowel, and erected block houses at several places along the route. This was a great convenience to the settlers who came into these parts after the war, and is known at this day as the "*Hazen Road.*" It terminated near a remarkable notch in the mountain in Westfield, and which has since been called *Hazen's Notch.*

6. During the continuance of the war, the frontier towns were frequently alarmed by the appearance of Indian scouting parties in their neighborhood, but the inhabitants were seldom molested. Their dwellings were, however, occasionally plundered and sometimes men were taken prisoners and a few, at different times, were killed, but the women and children were not usually injured, and never massacred as in former wars. In 1777, the Indians killed two men in Brandon, took several of the inhabitants prisoners and burnt their dwellings. On the 9th of August, 1780, they took three men in Barnard, whom they carried to Canada; and in October, of the same year, they made a successful expedition against Royalton, a thriving settlement on White river, which then consisted of about 300 inhabitants.

7. This expedition was designed against Newbury on Connecticut river, for the object, as was supposed, of capturing a Lieutenant Whitcomb, who in July 1776, while on a scout, had wantonly shot General Gordon, a British officer, between Chamblee and St Johns, and robbed him of his watch and sword. The British deeply resented this attack as unworthy of an officer, and were desirous of getting Whitcomb into their power. The party consisting of about 300 men, mostly Indians, was commanded by Horton, a British Lieutenant. While proceeding up Winooski river, they fell in with several hunters, by whom they were told that the people of Newbury were expecting an

attack, and were well prepared for defence. This information induced them to turn their attention towards Royalton.

8. They accordingly proceeded up Stevens' and jail branch, and down the first branch of White river, to Tunbridge, where they lay in their encampment during the sabbath, and on Monday morning, it being the 16th of October, they commenced their depredations, at the house of Mr John Hutchinson who lived near the line between Tunbridge and Royalton. After making Mr Hutchinson and his brother Abijah, prisoners, they proceeded to the house of Mr Robert Havens, where they killed Thomas Pember and Elias Button. They then went to the house of Joseph Kneeland, took him and his father, and Simeon Belknap, Giles Gibbs and Jonathan Brown. Proceeding thence to the house of Mr Elias Curtis, they made him and John Kent and Peter Mason prisoners.

9. Thus far the business was conducted with the greatest silence, and the prisoners were forbid making any outcry upon pain of death. They at length arrived at the mouth of the branch, where they made a stand, while small parties proceeded in different directions to plunder the dwellings and bring in prisoners. By this time the alarm had become general, the inhabitants were flying for safety in every direction and the savages filled the air with their horrid yells. One party extended its ravages down the river into Sharon, took two prisoners and burnt several houses and barns. Another party proceeded up the river, made prisoner of David Waller, a young lad who lived with General Stevens, plundered and set fire to the General's house, and advanced in that direction about three miles, killing the cattle, and plundering and setting fire to the buildings as they passed.

10. After completing their work of destruction, they returned with their booty to the place where they commenced their attack in the morning. From this place they proceeded across the hill to Randolph,

where they encamped for the night on the second branch of White river. In the course of the day they had killed two persons, taken 25 prisoners, burnt upwards of 20 houses, and about the same number of barns, and killed about 150 head of cattle, and all the sheep and hogs that fell in their way; having suffered no loss themselves and scarcely met with any opposition. "Supprised, affrighted, and scattered from one another, the inhabitants could take no steps for their defence; the alarm however soon spread, and a number of men immediately marched from Connecticut river, and the adjacent towns. By evening they amounted to several hundreds, and were collected at the place where the attack was first commenced. Here they organized themselves, and chose for their commander a captain John House, who had served several campaigns in the continental army.

12. Early in the evening, House began his march with this undisciplined but brave corps, in pursuit of the savages, who were at this time encamped seven or eight miles ahead. The night was dark and he was guided amidst the logs, rocks and hills with which the wilderness abounded only by a few marked trees. When they supposed themselves near the Indians, they proceeded with caution, but as they were passing over a stream which was crossed upon a large log they were fired upon by the enemy's rear guard, which had been posted behind some trees near the place and one man was wounded. House's party returned the fire, killed one Indian and wounded two others. The guard then retreated to the Indian camp and House advanced within about 300 yards of the same where he waited till day light without commencing an attack.

13. Fatigued by the business of the preceding day, and now suddenly awakened from profound sleep, the savages were at first filled with consternation and thrown into the utmost disorder. They, however,

soon recovered from their fright, and were not long in concerting measures for their own safety. They sent out an aged prisoner to inform the Americans, that, if they proceeded to make an attack, they should immediately put all the prisoners to death. The proceedings thus far had caused two to be put to death; one to retaliate the death of the Indian, who had been slain and the other for refusing to march, in the expectation that the Americans would relieve them. These were tomahawked as they lay bound upon the ground. Having placed their warriors in the rear to cover their retreat they silently left their encampment, proceeded to Randolph, where they took one prisoner, passed through the west part of Brookfield, and, by the way of Winooski river and lake Champlain, to Montreal.

14. House and his men were waiting for the dawn of day and deliberating upon the message brought them by the prisoner, till the Indians had departed and were far beyond their reach. They, however, followed upon their trail as far as Brookfield and then returned, having lost the opportunity of attacking the enemy by their caution and delay. On their way to Canada, the prisoners were well treated, and with respect to provisions, fared as well as their masters. Of the twenty six who were carried away, one died in captivity, and the rest were liberated the next summer and returned to their friends.

15. A few days after the burning of Royalton there was one of the most extensive alarms in the County of Windham, experienced in Vermont during the war; but it proved to be wholly groundless. It happened, that as several men were surveying lands in Brookline, some of them undertook to imitate the Indian war-hoop. In this they succeeded to admiration, and were heard by the inhabitants of Athens, who, supposing them to be real Indians, took fright, fled, and rapidly spread the alarm through the neighboring towns. Immediately all was terror and con-

fusion. To their bewildered imagination every noise became the yell of the savage and every rock, and every tree of the forest, a lurking place for the cruel foe. With such precipitation did they flee from their farms and dwellings that the men left their teams harnessed in the field and women their ovens heating and victuals cooking by the fire.

16. When the intelligence reached Colonel Sergeant at Brattleborough, he sent out orders into the different towns requesting their militia to assemble for the purpose of stopping the progress of the Indians who were laying waste the settlements. A snow storm had commenced and before night was so severe, as to render the flight of the inhabitants laborious and distressing; and, as evening came on, numerous lights were seen along the horizon, which it was not doubted, proceeded from the conflagration of the dwellings of the inhabitants wantonly plundered and set on fire by the Indians. This alarm spread over most of the country but was happily of short continuance. The brave soldiery marched into the deserted country, but they found nothing, but a deep snow, to interrupt their progress. The original cause of alarm was soon ascertained and the lights, by which it had been heightened, were found to proceed from the burning log and brush heaps, which had been fired by the industrious inhabitants of New Fane, and which had been set on fire as they saw the storm approaching.

17. On the 8th of March, 1781, a party of British and Indians made prisoners of Colonel Johnson, Jacob Page and Jonathan Elkins, and carried them to Canada. In the following summer, a scout consisting of four men from Peacham, while proceeding up Hazen's Road, were fired upon by a party of Indians. Two of them were killed and scalped and the other two made prisoners. In 1782, a party of British and Indians, after killing one man and taking one prisoner at Newbury, proceeded to Corinth where they com-

pelled the inhabitants to swear allegiance to the British king. Other towns were also visited by small parties of the enemy in the course of the war, but during the period of the negotiation, mentioned in the last section, and while Vermont was wholly at their mercy, the parties did very little injury and probably had orders from the British generals not to molest the inhabitants.

HISTORY OF VERMONT.

CHAPTER V.

PROCEEDINGS RELATIVE TO THE ADMISSION OF VERMONT INTO THE UNION.

SECTION I.

Extending from the completion of the eastern and western union with Vermont on the 22d of June, 1781 to the dissolution of the same on the 22d day of February 1782.

1. Vermont, having completed her eastern and western unions, as related in the preceding chapter, appointed Jonas Fay, Ira Allen, and Bezaleel Woodward, delegates to the American Congress, to negoti-

ate her admission into the federal union. Full powers were given them to complete the arrangement; and, if they effected their object they were authorized to take their seat in Congress as the representatives of Vermont. These delegates arrived at Philadelphia, in the beginning of August, and about the time of the publication of Lord Germain's letter, as already mentioned. On the 7th of August, 1781, Congress took up the subject of their mission, and appointed a committee of five persons to confer with the delegates from Vermont, and agree with them upon the terms of admission, provided Congress should see fit to recognize Vermont as an independent state.

2. On the 18th of August, a conference took place between this committee and the delegates from Vermont, at which sundry questions were proposed to the latter respecting the extent, population, and resources of Vermont, and the views and wishes of the inhabitants; to all of which answers were returned. On the 20th, the committee made their report to Congress; whereupon that body adopted the following resolution. "*Resolved*, That it be an indispensable preliminary to the recognition of the independence of the people inhabiting the territory called Vermont, and their admission into the federal union, that they explicitly relinquish all demands of lands or jurisdiction on the east side of the west bank of Connecticut river, and on the west side of a line beginning at the north west corner of Massachusetts, thence running twenty miles east of Hudson river, so far as said river continues northeasterly in its general course, then by the west bounds of the townships granted by the late government of New Hampshire, to the river running into East Bay, thence along said river and bay to lake Champlain, thence along the waters of said lake to latitude 45 degrees north."

3. Vermont and New York were both dissatisfied

with this resolution—Vermont, because it required as a condition of her admission into the union, that she should dissolve the agreeable connexions which she had just formed—New York, because it recognized the claim, against which she had so long and so earnestly contended:—the one, because it bereft Vermont of one half her present territory, resources and importance—the other, because it would allow Vermont still to have something left, which she could call her own. This appears from the proceedings of their respective legislatures.

4. The legislature of Vermont met at Charlestown, on the east side of Connecticut river, in October, and on the 16th of that month, the foregoing resolutions were laid before them. The resolution held out to Vermont a faint prospect of an admission into the federal union with her original territory, but having lost much of her confidence in the assurances of Congress and having now consolidated her unions at home, she felt herself in a condition to demand better terms than the relinquishment of one half her territory and population, to secure the independence of the other half. After deliberating and debating upon the subject for several days, the assembly, on the 19th of October, voted that they could not comply with the foregoing resolution of Congress.

5. They declared that a complance would destroy the foundation of the harmony which then subsisted in the state, and be a violation of the solemn compact entered into by the articles of union and confederation—that they would remain firm in the principles on which they had assumed the powers of government—that they would hold inviolate the articles of union, which connected the parts of the state together—and that they would submit the question of their independence to the arbitration of no power under heaven. They however declared their willingness to submit any questions, which might arise, with regard to jurisdictional limits between

them and the neighboring states, to arbitrators mutually chosen ; and, when admitted into the American union, they would not object to submitting such disputes to Congress.

6. The Legislature of New York, on the other hand, regarding the resolution of Congress as a virtual determination of the controversy between that state and Vermont, passed a number of resolutions, and a solemn protest against the proceedings of Congress. Having stated their claims, and some former proceedings of Congress on the subject, they went on to express their disapprobation and alarm at the evident intention of Congress, from *political expedience*, to establish an *arbitrary* boundary, which excluded from that state a great part of its territory. They declared that, in the opinion of the legislature, Congress had no authority, by the articles of confederation, to intermeddle with the territorial extent, or jurisdiction, of either of the United States, except in case of dispute between two or more states in the union,—that to carry into execution said resolution of Congress, would be an assumption of power and an infraction of the articles of confederation, and that they therefore solemnly protested against the same.

7. With the above mentioned resolution of Congress, a verbal message had been sent by General Washington to Governor Chittenden, desiring to know what were the real designs, wishes and intentions of the people of Vermont;—whether they would be satisfied with the independence proposed in said resolution, or seriously thought of joining the enemy and becoming a British province. On the 14th of November, Governor Chittenden returned an unequivocal and decisive answer to the above communication, in which he said that no people on the continent were more attached to the cause of America than the people of Vermont ; but, that they would sooner join the British in Canada, than submit to the government of New York—that, driven to des-

peration by the injustice of those, who should have been her friends, Vermont was now obliged to adopt policy in the room of power. He ascribed the late resolution of Congress, not to the influence of friends, but the power of enemies, believing that Lord Germain's letter had procured that, which the public virtue of the people could not obtain.

8. During these proceedings, new difficulties were opening to Vermont in her eastern and western unions. A communication was received by Governor Chittenden from one of the sheriffs in the eastern union, informing him that the government of New Hampshire, were about taking coercive measures to bring those citizens of that state, who had joined Vermont, again under their laws and authority. The governor, on the 14th of December, directed General Paine, then lieutenant governor of the state, to call out the militia on the east side of the mountains, for the assistance of the sheriffs and the defence of the citizens; and, if armed force should be employed by New Hampshire, that he should repel it by the same. Mr Paine forwarded a copy of this order to the council of New Hampshire, and informed them, that, if hostilities were commenced, he should execute his orders, and that New Hampshire must be accountable for the consequences. With these communications, commissioners were also sent to New Hampshire, to endeavor to accommodate matters, and prevent the effusion of blood.

9. On the other hand a military force was called out in New York, to prevent Vermont from executing her laws over the inhabitants of her western union, and to aid the sheriff of New York in apprehending several persons in the territory who had rendered themselves particularly obnoxious to the government of that state. This force was commanded by General Ganesvoort, who, being informed that Colonel Walbridge was advancing with a large body of troops from the grants, wrote to him on the 18th

of December, to be informed of the object of his movement. Walbridge replied that it was to protect the inhabitants, who, in consequence of the union, professed allegiance to the state of Vermont; that he wished conciliatory measures might be adopted, but, if those persons who professed to be citizens of Vermont, should be imprisoned and their property destroyed, he would not be accountable for the consequences.

10. Affairs seemed now to have reached an alarming crisis, and all parties trembled at the prospect of a civil war. Happy was it that hostilities were not commenced before the parties had taken time to reflect upon the consequences of such a measure; for when they looked at the momentous struggle in which their country was engaged, every philanthropist was fully convinced that no differences between the states should, on any account, be permitted to endanger the cause of American liberty and independence. Fortunately, about this time, Governor Chittenden received a letter from General Washington, dictated by his paternal solicitude for the good of his country, and for a happy termination of the troubles in relation to Vermont. This letter is dated January 1st, 1782, and from it we extract the following paragraph.

11. "It is not my business, nor do I think it necessary, now to discuss the origin of the right of a number of inhabitants, to that tract of country, formerly distinguished by the name of the New Hampshire grants, and now by that of Vermont. I will take it for granted that their right was good because Congress, by their resolve of the 7th of August, imply it; and by that of the 20th are willing fully to confirm it, provided the new state is confined to certain described bounds. It appears therefore to me, that the dispute of boundary, is the only one that exists; and, *that* being removed, all other difficulties would be removed also, and the matter terminate to the satisfaction of all parties. You have nothing to do,

but to withdraw your jurisdiction to the confines of your own limits, and obtain an acknowledgement of independence and sovereignty under the resolve of the 20th of August, for so much territory as does not interfere with the ancient established bounds of New Hampshire, New York and Massachusetts. In my private opinion, while it behoves the delegates to do ample justice to a people, sufficiently respectable by their numbers and entitled, by other claims, to be admitted into the confederation, it becomes them also, to attend to the interests of their constituents, and see, that under the appearance of justice to one, they do not materially injure the others. "I am apt to think this is the prevailing opinion of Congress."

12. Being endeared to all the friends of liberty by his integrity and virtue and by his disinterested exertions and sacrifices for the good of his country, such a communication from General Washington might reasonably be expected to exert a powerful influence upon the minds of the leading men in Vermont, and the event showed that it did. At the next meeting of the legislature, which was held at Bennington, this letter was laid before them. It served to open their eyes to the former errors of government, and, knowing it to have come from a man, who had only the interests of his *whole* country at heart, his advice was received with the greatest deference, and after mature deliberation upon the subject, the assembly on the 22d of February, 1782, resolved to comply with the preliminary required by the resolution of Congress on the 20th of August, and relinquish all claims to jurisdiction beyond the bounds therein mentioned.

13 Thus was dissolved a union which had greatly increased the power and consequence of Vermont, and which, it was believed, had prevented the division of Vermont, between New Hampshire and New York. But this union was not dissolved without a

struggle and much dissatisfaction in those parts which were cut off from Vermont, by the prescribed boundaries. The inhabitants of those parts had eagerly sought the union with Vermont, and they were too well satisfied with it willingly to return to their allegiance to those states from which they had withdrawn.

14. Vermont, having complied with the requirements of Congress, now confidently expected an immediate recognition of her independence, and an admission into the federal union; and with it a termination of the disagreeable controversy with New York. The legislature therefore proceeded to choose four agents to arrange the terms of admission, and then take their seats in Congress as representatives of Vermont. But in their expectations the people of Vermont were again doomed to disappointment; a disappointment, the pain and mortification of which could only be exceeded by the impolicy and injustice of the neglect which occasioned it. Congress still refused to admit Vermont into the union and again reverted to her policy of evasion and delay.

[SECTION II.]

Proceedings of Congress—Disturbances in Vermont—from the Dissolutions of the unions in Vermont Feb. 22d, 1782, to the Treaty of Peace between the United States and Great Britain, January 20th, 1783.

1. The refusal of Vermont on the 18th of October, 1781, to comply with the resolution of the 20th of August, had been communicated to Congress, and while the assembly of Vermont, in February 1782, was reconsidering the subject and effecting a com-

pliance with said resolution, Congress was engaged in warm debate upon their preceding refusal. On the first day of March, several spirited resolutions were proposed and discussed in Congress. These resolutions declared that, if Vermont did not, within one month from the time these resolutions were communicated to Governor Clittenden, comply with the resolution of the 20th of August, and relinquish her jurisdiction beyond the bounds therein named, such neglect and refusal would be regarded as an indication of hostility to the United States.

2. In that case Congress would regard the pretensions of Vermont for admission into the union as fallacious and delusive, and, would thereafter consider the lands in Vermont to the eastward of the ridge of the Green Mountains, as granted to New Hampshire, and the lands to the westward of said line as granted to New York; and that the commander in chief of the American armies be directed to employ the military forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into full execution. After a long debate and several trials, it was found that a vote could not be obtained to pass these resolutions, and a few days after, as the excitement was beginning to subside, the agents from Vermont arrived at Philadelphia.

3. These agents were Jonas Fay, Moses Robinson, Paul Spooner, and Isaac Tichenor, and they were instructed "to negotiate and complete on the part of Vermont, the admission thereof into the federal union, and to subscribe articles of perpetual confederation thereunto." On the 31st of March, 1782, they officially laid before Congress the proceedings of the legislature of Vermont on the 22d of February, by which they had fully complied with the requirement of the resolution of the 20th of August. Congress now again took up the subject and referred it to a committee of five members, who, on the 17th of April, reported;—That in the opinion of the

committee, Vermont had fully complied with the resolution of the 20th of August as preliminary to the recognition of her sovereignty and independence and admission into the federal union ; and that the, *conditional* promise of such recognition and admission by Congress, is thereby become *absolute* and *necessary* to be performed.

4. The committee then proposed a resolution declaring "That the district, or territory called Vermont, as defined and limited in the resolution of Congress of the 20th of August, 1781, be, and it hereby is, recognized and acknowledged, by the name of the state of Vermont, as free, sovereign and independent; and that a committee be appointed to treat and confer with the agents and delegates from said state, upon the terms and mode of the admission of said state into the federal union." When this report was read, motions were successively made that its consideration be assigned to the first Tuesday in October, the first Tuesday in June, and to Monday next, all of which were decided in the negative.

5. By these votes it became evident that Congress did not intend to come to any decision upon the affairs of Vermont, and the agents, of Vermont disappointed at the result, addressed a letter to the president of Congress on the 19th of April, and immediately left Philadelphia. In this communication they say, that in consequence of the plighted faith of Congress, and the advice of gentlemen of the first character in America, Vermont had been induced to comply in the most ample manner with the resolution of the 20th of August, and that they had officially communicated said compliance to Congress. They expressed their disappointment at the delay of Congress to execute, on their part, the spirit of said resolution, and pointed out the critical situation, to which Vermont was reduced by casting off a considerable portion of her strength,—by being ex-

posed to the main force of the enemy in Canada, and by receiving no aid from the United States, in whose cause she had freely fought and suffered.

6. When these proceedings of Congress became known in Vermont they produced universal dissatisfaction. It was the general opinion that the resolution of the 20th of August, had been designed to dupe the assembly to a compliance for the purpose of weakening Vermont and rendering it less dangerous to contravene her designs and wishes. Faith in the virtue and integrity of Congress was nearly destroyed; and by these measures of that body, the people, and the assembly of Vermont, were determined to adhere to the boundaries, to which they had agreed, and rely upon their own strength, resources, and management for defence and safety and urge no further upon Congress their right to a co federation with the United States. Still, that it might appear to the world that Vermont was not in fault, the assembly at their session in October, again appointed agents with full powers to complete arrangements for her admission into the union.

7. Notwithstanding the unsettled and embarrassing state of her relations to Congress and the neighboring states, the internal tranquility of Vermont had been for some time, but little disturbed. Her political institutions had been gradually maturing, and the organization of her government had assumed a regularity and efficiency which commanded the obedience and respect of the great body of the citizens. New York had not relinquished her claim to jurisdiction over the territory, but she had not, of late, made any serious effort to exercise it; and had contented herself with opposing the admission of Vermont into the union. Still there were some among the citizens of Vermont, whose submission was reluctant, and who were ready to embrace any favorable opportunity to renounce their allegiance and support the claims of New York.

8. As the continental troops had been withdrawn from the northern frontier, and as Vermont was exposed to invasion by the enemy from Canada, she found it necessary to order a draft of militia for the purpose of defence. Those citizens of Vermont, who were disaffected toward the government, resolved to take this opportunity to resist its authority. They were encouraged in this measure by the governor of New York, who gave commissions to sundry persons in the southeastern part of the county of Windham, and had recommended the organization of a military force for the purpose of opposing Vermont, and enforcing the laws of New York. Vermont became alarmed at these proceedings, and, having employed lenient measures in vain, ordered out the militia to suppress them. The leaders in the rebellion were taken, five of the most obnoxious of whom were banished from the state, and the others fined or otherwise punished.

9. Disappointed in their attempts to resist the authority of Vermont, the insurgents applied to the government of New York, under which they pretended to have acted, for support and remuneration for their sacrifices and losses in consequence of their rebellion. But the desired support New York was not able to afford. Vermont feared not her power, and therefore her promises and her threatenings were alike disregarded. A remonstrance was then forwarded to Congress setting forth that Vermont had proceeded to exercise jurisdiction over the persons and properties of sundry persons, who professed themselves to be subject to the state of New York; This remonstrance was seconded by a letter from the governor of New York, and on the 14th day of November, 1782, the committee in Congress to whom the subject was referred, reported "that the measures complained of were probably occasioned by the state of New York having given commissions both civil and military, to persons residing in Ver-

mont." They also recommended, that said commissions be revoked, and that Vermont should make satisfaction to the persons, who had been banished, or who had sustained damages. But Congress refused to adopt the resolutions recommended.

10. On the 5th of December, Congress again took up the matter, but instead of fulfilling their engagement to Vermont made by the resolution of the 20th of August, 1781, their proceedings were full of censure and threatening against Vermont, for having exercised authority over persons, who professed allegiance to the state of New York, in violation of the resolutions of Congress, passed on the 24th of September, 1779, and on the 2d of June, 1780. Among other things they resolved, that Vermont be required to make full restitution to the persons condemned to banishment or confiscation of property, and that they be not molested on their return to said district. They close by resolving "that the United States will take effectual measures to enforce a compliance with the aforesaid resolutions, in case the same shall be disobeyed by the people of the said district."

11. The faith of the people of Vermont in the wisdom and integrity of Congress, weakened by several of their former acts, was by the foregoing nearly destroyed, and with it the reverence and respect of the people for that body. The governor and council of Vermont returned a spirited remonstrance to the above resolutions, in which Congress was reminded of their solemn engagement to the state of Vermont, in the resolution of the 20th of August, and which, after the fullest compliance on the part of said state with the requirement of Congress, Congress had refused or neglected to fulfill. Congress were told, that, by their own articles of confederation, they had no right to intermeddle with the internal policy of any of the United States; and least of all with that of Vermont, from which she had received

no delegated authority whatever. It asserted that Vermont had as much authority to prescribe measures to Congress, as Congress had to revoke the legal decisions of Vermont in the case of the criminals already mentioned.

The remonstrance went on to assert that Vermont had had an independent jurisdiction since the royal decision in 1764, and that they did not intend to be resolved out of it by the influence, which their *old adversary*, New York, possessed in Congress:—that Vermont had no controversy with the United States, as a whole; but that she was at all times, ready and able, to vindicate her rights and liberties against the usurpations of New York. It declares that Congress has been so mutable in their resolutions respecting Vermont, that it is impossible to know on what grounds to find them. At one time they guarantee a part of her lands to New Hampshire and New York, still leaving a place for the existence of Vermont though much diminished in extent. At another time they are controlling the internal government of Vermont. And again, at another time prescribing terms of confederation, with the United States and when these are complied with on the part of Vermont, Congress will not ratify the union.

14. After giving a full reply to all the topics contained in the resolutions of Congress, the remonstrance concludes with a request to be immediately admitted into the union, and with an assurance that she will not recede from her compliance with the resolution of the 20th of August 1780. The assembly met at Windsor in February 1783, and on the 26th, a remonstrance, like the preceding, spirited and decisive, was forwarded by that body to Congress. It announced in the plainest terms that Congress had no business to intermeddle in the internal affairs of Vermont, and that Vermont was fully determined to maintain her independence and jurisdiction within her own limits. She therefore continued, unawed

by the threatenings of Congress, to enforce the decisions of her courts of justice and in the administration of the affairs of government, and Congress, it appears, did not judge it prudent to attempt, by force to carry into effect her resolutions of the 5th of December 1782.

SECTION III.

Disturbances in Vermont growing out of the controversy with New York.

1. The disturbances in the county of Windham, to which we alluded in the preceding section, perhaps deserve a more particular notice than was there given. At the first organization of the government of Vermont in 1778, there were many people in the southeastern part of the state, who were in favor of New York and of course opposed to the independence of Vermont. These persons embraced every opportunity to embarrass the newly organized government, and at several times resisted the authority of Vermont by force. The centre of this opposition seems to have been at Guilford, at that time the most populous town in the state numbering nearly 3000 souls. During most of the revolutionary war a majority of the inhabitants of this town were friendly to New York and were therefore denominated "Yorkers;" and at their town meetings it was usually a part of their business to appoint "a committee to defend the town against the pretended state of Vermont."

2. In several of the neighboring towns, particularly in Brattleborough, the disaffected towards the government of Vermont were considerably numerous, and there was in these towns an organized opposition to the government of the state, and conventions of

delegates from them occasionally assembled for the purpose of adopting an uniform plan of resistance throughout the whole. The measures of the government, most vigorously opposed, were the collection of taxes and the drafting of men for the defence of the state ; and it was a customary part of their business at their town meeting in Guilford, while the Yorkers were a majority, to appoint a special "committee to forbid the constable acting." And to secure a majority at their meetings the *new state* people were frequently excluded from the polls by an armed force, collected from the neighboring towns.

3. It appears that in Guilford and in some of the other towns, the two parties had each a town organization of their own, and that, in some cases there were two sets of town officers, one professing allegiance to Vermont and the other to New York. Between these, and their partizans on each side, there were frequent skirmishes, some of which were not terminated without the shedding of blood. During the years 1783, and 1784, the enmity of the parties was carried to an alarming extent. Social order was at an end ; Physicians were not allowed to visit the sick without a pass from the several committees. Handbills from various quarters inflamed the minds of the people. Relatives and neighbors were arrayed against each other. The laws of Vermont were disregarded by the partisans of New York and her executive officers were openly resisted.

4. In this state of things, in the summer of 1783, General Ethan Allen was directed to call out the militia for enforcing the laws of Vermont, and for suppressing insurrection and disturbances in the county of Windham. Allen proceeded from Bennington at the head of 100 Green Mountain Boys, and on his arrival at Guilford, he issued the following proclamation. "*I, Ethan Allen, declare that unless the people of Guilford peaceably submit to the authority of Vermont, the town shall be made as deso-*

late as were the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah." The Yorkers having fired upon Allen and his men, were pursued, and all either taken prisoners or dispersed. Those, taken, were put under bonds for their good behavior and were compelled to furnish supplies and quarters for the troops. Under Allen's martial law the constable found no difficulty in the collection of taxes: nor was he very scrupulous about the sum assessed in the tax bill. Produce, horses, cattle and sheep, and whatever else could be found belonging to the most violent Yorkers were taken and sold for the benefit of the state.

5. During the following winter the disturbances became still more serious. On the night of the 17th of January, 1784, a party of Yorkers from Guilford attacked the inn of Josiah Arms in Brattleborough, which was the quarters of General Farnsworth, Major Boyden, Constable Waters, and some others holding offices under the government of Vermont, and demanded the immediate surrender of Waters, who had been guilty of extorting taxes from persons professing allegiance to New York. Not being in a condition to make an effectual resistance to an armed force, Waters voluntarily surrendered himself into the hands of the Yorkers, but not till after they had fired about 30 balls through the house, and wounded Major Boyden in the leg, and shot a traveler through the thigh. Waters was carried into Massachusetts, but the party being pursued by a few Vermonters, he was released the next day and returned.

6. The legislature of Vermont had, at their session in October, "voted to raise 200 men for the defence of Windham county against the Yorkers." After the affair at Brattleborough, finding the people of Guilford determined to oppose the collection of taxes, Colonel S. R. Bradley, at the head of this force, proceeded, January 18th, to that town for the purpose of enforcing the collections. The parties of Yorkers

were all dispersed without opposition, excepting one which had collected near the line of Massachusetts. This party consisting of 25 men, fired upon the Vermonters as they advanced, by which one man was severely wounded. The Yorkers then retreated with all possible speed, over the line into Massachusetts. Several of the leaders were, however, taken and brought to merited punishment by whipping, fine, and pillory. Another skirmish occurred on the 5th of March, between a company of Vermonters under Captain Knights, and a party of Yorkers near the south part of Guilford, in which the latter had one man killed and several wounded.

7. These disturbances continued during most of the year 1784; but before the close of the year, the Yorkers, found their property mostly confiscated, and themselves so harshly handled, by the civil and military authority of Vermont, that they either submitted and took the oath of allegiance to the state, or abandoned the country, and settled in other places. The greater part of them fled into the state of New York, and settled upon lands especially granted by that state for the benefit of these sufferers. This dispersion of her partisans from the county of Windham terminated the attempts of New York, to maintain her authority in Vermont by means of a military force; and although she did not readily acknowledge the independence of Vermont, she probably, from this period, relinquished all hope of overthrowing the government of Vermont, or of preventing the final acknowledgement of her independence by Congress.

SECTION IV.

Settlement of the Controversy with New York, and the Admission of Vermont into the Union.

1. On the 20th of January, 1783, the preliminary articles of peace were signed, which terminated the war with Great Britain, and established the independence of the united colonies. By this event, Congress was freed from their embarrassments with regard to Vermont, and Vermont was released from all her fears. The British army upon the northern frontiers of Vermont, whose efforts had been so long palsied by the artful policy of few individuals, was now withdrawn, and the people of Vermont, having now no external foes to dread, ceased to be solicitous for an immediate union with the confederated states. They observed that the Congress of the United States was becoming embarrassed in their proceedings—that their currency had failed—their revenue was dried up—their armies unpaid and dissatisfied—their credit gone—and the confidence of the people in their wisdom and ability, nearly destroyed.

2. Vermont, on the other hand, in consequence of being refused admission into the union, found herself freed from all these difficulties. The United States had incurred an immense debt in the prosecution of the war, but the calls of Congress upon the people for money to pay this debt, could not reach into Vermont. Vermont, it is true, was obliged to pay the forces, which she had raised for her own defence, but these had been few, as she had, during much of the war relied for safety more upon her policy, than her power. As much of the territory of Vermont was at this time ungranted, and at the disposal of the government, and as numerous applications were now made for these lands by settlers, who

were flocking in from other states ; Vermont was thereby enabled to supply her own treasury and to pay her debts without imposing oppressive taxes upon the people.

3. Thus, by one of those sudden transactions, which are not uncommon in human affairs, was Vermont brought from a condition the most difficult and embarrassed, to a state of safety and happiness exceeding that of any of her neighbors. Invited by the mildness of the government, the comparative exemption from taxes, the fertility and cheapness of the lands, large additions were annually made to the population, and resources of Vermont by emigrants from other states. The government had attained an efficient organization—had learned wisdom from past experience—the people were contented and happy under it—and as they felt that their own situation was better than that of the people of the neighboring states, they felt no longer any solicitude to be admitted into the confederation.

4. The affairs of Vermont remained in this situation for several years after the close of the war. During this period the leading statesmen and philanthropists in the United States became alarmed at the operation and tendency of public affairs. They perceived that the powers, with which Congress was invested, were wholly inadequate to the purposes of government and that a more solid and efficient organization was indispensable in order to secure that liberty and independence, which they had purchased with so much blood, and toil, and treasure. Therefore at the suggestion of James Madison of Virginia and in conformity with a resolution of Congress, a convention of delegates, from the several states assembled at Philadelphia in 1787, and after mature deliberation adopted a constitution, by which Congress should afterwards be furnished with powers adequate to the exigencies of the government. This constitution was ratified by the states and the first

Congress assembled under it on the 3d of March, 1789.

5. After the adoption of the federal constitution the policy and proceedings of the new Congress were carefully observed by the people of Vermont. During two sessions they found the government laboring to restore public confidence by providing for the payment of the public debts and by the establishment of equal law and justice in every department of the federal government. Their measures appeared to be marked with so much wisdom and prudence, as, in a great degree, to restore to the people of Vermont that confidence in the federal government, which had been destroyed by the evasive and vacillating policy of the old Congress, and to remove the aversion, which they had sometime felt, to a confederacy with the United States.

6. The ancient difficulty with New York, however, remained unsettled. That state well knew that Vermont would now remain a free and independent state, and she probably felt but little anxiety that it should be otherwise. But the former governors of New York had made grants of large tracts in Vermont the validity of which, the government of Vermont refused to admit, and the grantees were constantly complaining to the government of New York, of the injuries done them in not being permitted to take possession of their property. New York did not conceive that she was under very strong obligation to refund what had been extorted for these grants by the cupidity of the royal governors of that province before the war, yet she manifested a disposition to compromise the matter and have the difficulties adjusted on amicable terms.

7. Events also occurred in relation to the federal government, which disposed New York still more, to admit the independence of Vermont, and to wish her confederation with the United States. It was perceived that by the exclusion of Vermont, the eastern

states were deprived of their just representation in Congress, and New York could not but see, that, if their old difficulties could be settled, the interests and influence of Vermont would in almost every instance coincide with her own. It therefore soon became apparent that public sentiment in N. Y. was in favor of a reconciliation. Vermont, it was said, is in full possession of independence; her government is as well organized and administered, as that of the other states; and shall a controversy, which originated in the cupidity and oppression of royal governors and councils, whose authority has long been extinct, be permitted to mar the constellation of America and deprive the north of its just weight in the council of the nation?

8. In accordance with these conciliatory views, the legislature of New York, on the 15th of July, 1789, passed an act, appointing commissioners with full powers to acknowledge the sovereignty of Vermont, and adjust all matters of controversy with that state. On the 23d of October following, the legislature of Vermont appointed commissioners on their part to treat with those of New York, and to remove all obstructions to the admission of Vermont into the union. The commissioners on both parts were very anxious that an adjustment should be effected, and the only point, which occasioned any debate, was the amount of compensation, which claimants under New York grants should receive from Vermont, an account of her having regranted the same lands and excluded the New York grantees from their possession. But the settlement of this point, after two or three meetings, was amicably agreed upon by the commissioners.

9. On the 7th of October, 1790, "the commissioners for New York, by virtue of the powers to them granted for that purpose, declared the consent of the legislature of New York, that the state of Vermont be admitted into the union of the United States of America; and that immediately upon such admission,

all claims of jurisdiction of the state of New York, within the state of Vermont, shall cease; and thenceforth the perpetual boundary line between the state of Vermont shall be as was then holden and possessed by Vermont," that is, the west lines of the most western towns which had been granted by New Hampshire, and the middle channel of Lake Champlain.

10. With regard to the lands which had been granted by New York. "the said commissioners by virtue of the powers to them granted, declare the will of the legislature of New York, that if the legislature of the state of Vermont should, on or before the first day of January, 1792, declare that on or before the first day of June, 1794, the state of Vermont would pay the state of New York, the sum of thirty thousand dollars, that immediately from such declaration by the legislature of the state of Vermont, all rights and titles to lands within the state of Vermont, under grants from the government of the colony of New York, or from the state of New York, should cease," those excepted, which had been made in confirmation of the grants of New Hampshire.

11. This proposal and declaration being laid before the legislature of Vermont, they very readily agreed to the plan, which had been concerted by the commissioners from both states; and on October 28, 1790, passed an act directing the treasurer of the state, to pay the sum of thirty thousand dollars to the state of N. Y. at the time proposed; adopting the west line above mentioned as the perpetual boundary between the two states; and declaring all the grants, charters and patents of land, lying within the state of Vermont, made by or under the late colony of New York, to be null and void, those only excepted which had been made in confirmation of the grants from New Hampshire.

12. Thus was terminated a controversy which had

been carried on with great spirit and animosity for twenty six years; and which, had, on the part of Vermont called into exercise native courage and talents, which have few parrallels in ancient or modern times. The difficulties with New York, being adjusted, the legislature of Vermont, proceeded to call a convention for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the people with regard to an union with the United States. This convention assembled at Bennington on the 6th day of January, 1791, and after deliberating and debating the subject for four days, it was finally voted, yeas 105, and nays 2, that application be made for admission into the federal union; and the convention was then dissolved.

13. On the 10th of January, 1791, the legislature of Vermont, met at Bennington, and on the 18th, they chose the Hon. Nathaniel Chapman, and Lewis R. Morris Esq. commissioners to attend Congress and negotiate the admission of Vermont, into the union. These commissioners immediately repaired to Philadelphia, and laid before the president the proceedings of the convention and legislature of Vermont; and on the 18th of February, 1791, Congress passed an act which declared "that on the 4th day of March, 1791, the said state by the name and style of "the state of Vermont," shall be received and admitted into their union, as a new and entire member of the United States of America." This act was passed without debate, and without a dissenting vote, and by it were terminated all the controversies with regard to Vermont.

HISTORY OF VERMONT.

CHAPTER VI.

CIVIL POLICY OF VERMONT AFTER HER ADMISSION INTO THE UNION.

SECTION I.

Extending from the admission of Vermont into the Union in 1791, to the resignation and death of Governor Chittenden in 1797.

1. We have now traced the history of Vermont from the earliest settlements down to the time of her admission into the federal union. Thus far her history has been peculiar to herself; and has been filled with incidents of uncommon interest; the more so on account of their unlikeness to what happened in any other individual state. Previous to the revolution all the *original* states of the union were provinces under the crown of England, each having an organized provincial government. But not so with Vermont. She had never been recognized by the crown as a separate jurisdiction: nor had she herself, after the royal decision in 1764, by which she was placed under New York, ever recognized the authority of that province, or of any other external power. She had

found herself in a state of nature, and her citizens had formed themselves into a body politic—into a little independent republic, for their mutual benefit and defence, and by the wisdom and prudence of her statesmen, she had succeeded in organizing an efficient government for the regulation of her internal affairs, and had adopted a system of jurisprudence fully adequate to the wants of the people.

2. But from the time of the admission of Vermont into the federal union, her history loses in a great measure, its separate and peculiar character, and becomes, either a part of the history of the United States, or resembles, in its leading features, that of the other individual states. We have therefore reserved only a small portion of our little volume for this period of our history, and, consequently, we shall not hereafter attempt to trace the course of political events with that minuteness which we have hitherto observed. At the time Vermont became a member of the confederacy, her own government had become systematic and stable by the practical experience of thirteen years and that of the United States had been placed upon the foundation of its present constitution. At the head of these governments were two men, who were endeared to the people by their long and disinterested public services, and in whose abilities and virtues the fullest confidence was reposed. These men were Thomas Chittenden, governor of Vermont, and George Washington president of the United States.

3 From this era in the history of Vermont and in that of the United States, the two governments, though occasionally slightly agitated by the beckings of party, have gone steadily onward in the career of prosperity, diffusing their blessings through every portion of community. The tranquility of Vermont was, for several years, scarcely effected by the policy and intrigues of demagogues and aspirants after office. The attachment of the peo-

ple to their old governor was so general, that the politicians scarcely attempted to bring forward any other candidate for the first office in the gift of the people, and neither the honours, nor the emoluments of the other state offices, were such as to render them objects of general contest or ambition. The legislature met annually in the beginning of October, and during the last week of the session they usually proceeded to make the appointments of the civil officers for the succeeding year, and this was done for several seasons without any considerable electioneering or management. After this business was disposed of, they proceeded to enact such laws, as were required by the exigencies of the people; and they usually completed the whole business of legislation in about four weeks, affording to artful demagogues but little opportunity to acquire power, influence, or popularity.

4. During this period of tranquility and union the legislature of Vermont adopted a digested and judicious code of laws; and for a while nothing seemed to mar the general harmony. But subsequent events proved this tranquility to be like those calms which precede the convulsions of nature. Causes were then in operation, which were destined to produce fearful divisions and animosities among the people of the United States. The French nation, urged onward by their infidel philosophy, and by the example of America, had overthrown their established government, abolished the ancient restraints of law and religion; and they vainly imagined that they were on the high road to a state of perfectibility, such as the world had never yet seen.

5. The American people, grateful for the aid which they had received from France, and anxious that the blessings of liberty should be more generally diffused, had watched the progress of the French revolution with deep interest, and for a while it was generally believed, that France would become a republic with

a government much more perfect than that of the United States. But when she abandoned the principles of common sense, and discarded morality and virtue, many of the people of the United States, became convinced that, instead of promoting rational liberty, they had opened the flood-gates of anarchy, to be closed only by a despotism more severe than that under which they had previously groaned. Thus while a part of the people wished to go forward and follow the French in pursuit of their chimerical scheme of perfectibility; another party was fearful for the consequences, and chose rather to remain within the bounds of reason and experience.

6. In this manner the people of the United States, and of Vermont as a portion of the Union, gradually became divided into two distinct parties, both of which avowed their attachment to the constitution of the country and both desired alterations in that instrument. While one party wished to improve the constitution by increasing the powers of the government, the other wished to do it by rendering the government more democratic, and thus increasing the power of the people. These parties by degrees increased in strength and violence, but were for several years much restrained in their proceedings by the virtue and influence of Washington, and, in Vermont, by the judicious administration of Governor Chittenden.

7. The extreme simplicity which characterized the legislative proceedings of Vermont, during the administration of Governor Chittenden, left but little room for the intrigues of politicians, or for the progress of party and faction. It was not then the custom of the governor to make a speech at the opening of the legislature, and consequently the different parties had not then a bone of contention about which to wrangle, as they had, during subsequent administrations; and, previous to the resignation

and death of Governor Chittenden, in 1797, party spirit in Vermont cannot be said to have assumed a very serious aspect. As through the instrumentality of Governor Chittenden, Vermont was chiefly enabled to establish her independence as a state, and as he for many years held the first office in the gift of the people, we shall close this section with a short sketch of his biography.

8. It has so happened, that almost every age of the world has produced individuals, who seem to have been moulded, by nature, particularly for the exigencies of the times in which they lived. There have always been some master spirits, who were peculiarly fitted to control the agitated waters of public opinion, and either to soothe them into a calm, or else to mount upon the wind and direct the waves; and the results attained under their guidance have usually been happy to community, or otherwise, according as the ruling motives of the leaders have been patriotic or selfish. These results, it is true, are materially affected by the amount of virtue and intelligence among the people; but virtue and intelligence do not, alone, fit an individual for becoming a popular and successful leader in troublesome times. There is necessary, in addition to these, a certain indescribable tact and native energy, which few individuals have possessed, and which, perhaps, no one in our State, has manifested in a more eminent degree than Governor Chittenden.

9. Governor Thomas Chittenden was born at Guilford, in Connecticut, on the 6th day of January, in the year 1729. At the age of about 20 years, he was married to Miss Elizabeth Meigs, and soon after removed to Salisbury, where, by his industry, and economy, he acquired a handsome landed property. While he resided at Salisbury he represented that town seven years in the Connecticut assembly, became a civil magistrate, and a colonel of the militia of that state. Early in the spring of 1774, he re-

moved with his family to the New Hampshire grants, as Vermont was then called, having purchased a tract of land on the Winooski, or Union river, in the township of Williston. Here he arrived in the month of April or May, not knowing the spot on which he was to locate himself, and without having any habitation provided for the shelter of his family. At this time there were scarcely any inhabitants in Vermont to the northward of Rutland, and none within the limits of the County of Chittenden, excepting those who had come on the present year. These were locating themselves at Burlington, Colchester, and some other places.

10. Seated upon the beautiful and fertile banks of the Winooski, labor, well directed in the cultivation of his new farm, had procured to Mr Chittenden the necessary provisions for the comfortable sustenance of his family, and had opened to him the prospect of many of the conveniences of life; and nothing could be more flattering than the prospect of rural wealth, abundance and independence, as the natural and certain consequence of the labor of his hands and the fertility of the soil. It was in the midst of these improvements, and pleasing anticipations, that the war of the Revolution commenced, and the frontier settlements became exposed to the depredations of the enemy—to the merciless inroads of their savage allies. In this state of things, in 1775, Mr Chittenden was employed, with four others, as a committee to repair to Philadelphia, and procure intelligence with regard to the measures which Congress was pursuing, and to receive advice respecting the political measures proper to be adopted by the people of the New Hampshire grants.

11. The retreat of the American army from Canada, in the spring of 1776, and the advance of the British upon Lake Champlain, rendering it unsafe for the few settlers, scattered along the western border of Vermont, to remain upon their lands, this

section of the country was wholly abandoned by the inhabitants, who retired into the southern part of the district, or into Massachusetts and Connecticut. Mr Chittenden removed his family to Arlington, in June of this year, was appointed President of the Council of Safety and soon became a leading man in the consultations of the inhabitants. Entering with deep interest into the controversy with New York respecting the titles of the lands in the New Hampshire grants, and being more acquainted with public business than any of the settlers, in consequence of the offices, which he had held in his native state, he was universally regarded as the man most suitable to be placed at the head of their operations. Mr Chittenden perceived that the general struggle for independence, in which the colonies were now engaged, presented a favorable opportunity for terminating the controversy with New York, by erecting the disputed territory into a new state, and establishing a separate government; and having adopted this decisive plan of sound policy, he steadily pursued it, till he saw the independence of Vermont acknowledged by the neighboring states and by the general government.

12. He was a member of the first convention of delegates from the several townships, which met at Dorset, September 25, 1776, for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency of declaring Vermont an independent state, and at the subsequent meeting of the convention at Westminster, January 15, 1777, he was one of the committee, who draughted the declaration of independence, which was there adopted, and also a member of another committee, who, at that time, petitioned Congress, praying that body to acknowledge Vermont, a free and independent state. He assisted in forming the first Constitution of Vermont, which was adopted by a Convention, July 2d, 1777, and in 1778 he was elected the first governor of Vermont, which office he held with the exception of one year till his death. He

was one of the eight persons who secretly managed the negotiations with the British in Canada in 1780, and the three following years, with such consummate adroitness and skill as to deceive alike the British and the people of the United States, and effectually to secure Vermont from the hostilities of the enemy, whose forces were all this time in possession of Lake Champlain, and Vermont without any other means of defence. After the close of the war, Governor Chittenden again removed his family to Williston, where he spent the remainder of his active and useful life. Advanced in years and declining in health, in the summer of 1797 he resigned the office of governor, which he had held for 18 years, and died the same season, August the 25th, in the 69th year of his age, beloved by his family and friends and sincerely esteemed and lamented by the people of Vermont.

13. As already remarked, Governor Chittenden possessed in an eminent degree, precisely those qualifications, which fitted him for the sphere in which he was called upon to act. He had not, indeed, enjoyed many of the advantages of education, but his want of education was amply compensated by the possession of a strong and active mind, which, at the time he emigrated to Vermont, was matured by age, practised to business, and enriched by a careful observance of men and things. His knowledge was practical rather than theoretic. He was regular in his habits—plain and simple in his manners—averse to ostentation of equipage, and dress, and he cared little for the luxuries, the blandishments or the etiquette of refined society. In short, though he was destitute of many of the qualifications now deemed essential in a statesman, he possessed all that were necessary, and none that were superfluous, in the times in which he lived, and was probably far better fitted to be the leader and governor of the independent, dauntless and hardy, but uncultivated

settlers of Vermont, than would have been a man of more theoretic knowledge, or polite accomplishments.

SECTION II.

Legislative proceedings in Vermont from the year 1797 to 1812

1. The popularity of Governor Chittenden and the certainty of his re-election, had hitherto prevented any serious efforts being made to bring forward other candidates for that office. But by his resignation and death the political parties in Vermont were relieved from the restraints of his influence and new motives were laid before them to arouse their activity and exertions. The two great parties had already adopted the terms *federal* and *republican* as the mottoes of their respective standards, and from this period no means were left unemployed which were supposed to be calculated to increase their respective influence and numbers.

2. The republican party were believed to favor the principles of the French revolution, and to be desirous of rendering the government of the Union more democratic, while the federalists were accused of partiality to Great Britain and of a wish to make the government of the United States more independent of the people and monarchical in its principles. The great mass of both these political parties undoubtedly had the good of their country at heart and differed but little in their views of the proper means of promoting it. But, by the influence and arts of designing politicians and demagogues these slight differences were in time so magnified and distorted as to produce the most violent animosities among friends and neighbors.

3. At the meeting of the Vermont assembly in October 1797, it was found that no governor had been elected by the people, but that Isaac Tichenor, then chief justice of the state had received the largest number of votes. The choice then devolving upon the general assembly, Mr Tichenor was elected by a large majority. He entered upon the duties of his office by making a speech to the legislature, and thus introducing into Vermont the custom of the other states. In his speech he applauded the state and federal constitutions, fully approved of the measures of Washington's administration, and expressed his entire confidence in the abilities and integrity of Mr Adams, who was then President of the United States. The sentiments of the speech were decidedly what was called *federalism*.

4. To this speech the legislature returned a respectful answer in which they say "we are not disposed to call in question the wisdom or integrity of those, who have been concerned in the administration of the general government, nor to withhold confidence where it ought to be inspired; but give support and energy to every measure, which, in our opinion, will secure, or promote the national prosperity." The two political parties were distinctly formed, but they had not yet reached that state of insolence and acrimony, which they were afterwards to exhibit, and in the transaction of the public business, the public good was yet obviously paramount to the promotion of party influence and power.

5. In October, 1798, the legislature met at Vergennes. Mr Tichenor was re-elected governor by a large majority. The country was now much agitated on account of the insolent and lawless proceeding of the French—their refusal to receive American ambassadors and their demand of tribute under the name of a loan; and the governor, in his speech, expressed the strongest disapprobation of their policy and proceedings. The house returned an answer,

inobued with the same spirit of hostility to the French; and both were in the highest tone of what was called federalism.

6. Early in the session a committee was appointed to draw up an address to the President of the United States, which was soon after adopted by a vote of yeas 129, and nays 23. In this address the principles and proceedings of the French were treated with much asperity. It expressed the entire confidence of the legislature in the president, and the fullest approbation of the measures of his administration, and declared the willingness of Vermont to take up arms, if necessary, for the defence of the country against the rapacity of the French. To this address, Mr Adams afterwards returned a very polite and respectful answer, in which he complimented the people of Vermont for their patriotism and virtues, and expressed the high satisfaction derived from the assurance of their approbation.

7. It was during this session, that proscription, on account of political opinion, was first practised in the distribution of the civil offices in Vermont. Israel Smith, who had held the office of chief justice of the state, and who was a man of uncorrupted integrity and virtue, was dropped on account of his attachment to the republican party, and another person chosen chief justice in his stead. For all the important offices, the selections were made from those who were of the most decided federal principles, and with the avowed design of encouraging the supporters of Mr Adams, and of checking the progress of democracy.

8. After the appointment of the various officers for the current year, the political inflammation subsided, and the assembly proceeded in the remaining business of the session with their usual industry and good sense. It was during this session that application was made by some Indian chiefs in Canada, for compensation for lands which they claimed in Ver-

mont. Their claim embraced nearly the whole of the present counties of Addison, Chittenden, Franklin and Grand Isle. The subject was referred to a committee, who reported that the lands claimed had, in their opinion, formerly belonged to said Indians, but whether their title had ever been extinguished by purchase, conquest, dereliction of occupancy, or in any other way they could not ascertain. The legislature supported the Indian agents during their attendance, gave them a hundred dollars in token of friendship, and they returned to their tribes well pleased with their present success and hoping to succeed still better another season.

9. A proposal came before the legislature at this session from the state of Massachusetts for an amendment of the constitution of the United States, providing that no person, who was not a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the declaration of independence, should be eligible to the office of president, or vice president, or of senator or representative in Congress. This proposal was perfectly agreeable to the sentiments of the assembly, and was adopted by a vote of 152 yeas, and only five in the negative.

10. In October, 1799, the legislature met at Windsor. The spirit of opposition to French principles and measures, continued to run high. The speech of Governor Tichenor highly applauded the energetic measures of Mr. Adams for putting a stop to the aggressions of the French upon our commerce, and expressed the fullest approbation of the measures of his administration. The assembly in their answer to this speech, reciprocated the same sentiments, and congratulated his excellency on account of the prosperity and felicity of the state under his administration. In the appointment of civil officers, the assembly proceeded with more moderation than they had done the preceding year; they did not however see fit to replace those, who had been dropped on

account of their attachment to the republican party.

11. At this session the governor communicated to the assembly the result of his inquiries respecting the claims of the Indians to lands in Vermont; which was that said claims have been fully extinguished. A resolution to that effect was accordingly adopted by the assembly and communicated to the chiefs of the six nations of Indians inhabiting Lower Canada. The questions which occasioned the most excitement and debate, related to sundry resolutions, which had been passed by the assemblies of Virginia and Kentucky, condemning the proceedings of Congress in passing the alien and sedition laws, and declaring individual states to be the legal judges of the constitutionality of the acts of Congress, and of the obligation of the state to yield obedience to them.

12. Resolutions were passed by the assembly of Vermont, expressing the most decided disapprobation of the sentiments contained in the resolutions from Virginia and Kentucky. They declared that "it belongs not to *state legislatures* to decide on the constitutionality of the laws, made by the general government; this power being exclusively vested in the judiciary courts of the union." On the passage of these resolutions the yeas were 104, and nays 52, which clearly shows the strength of the two political parties in Vermont, the federalists all being in favor of their adoption, and the republicans all in the opposition. The minority on this occasion entered a formal protest upon the journals of the assembly, assigning twelve reasons for their dissent from the majority. This protest was signed by thirty-three of those who had voted in the negative.

13. In October, 1860, the legislature met at Middlebury. The political excitement had apparently much subsided. In his speech, Governor Tichenor urged the attention of the assembly to the particular affairs of the state, but alluded to the administrations

of Washington and Adams, in terms of the highest approbation. The answer which the assembly returned was mild, moral and sentimental; expressive of the difficulties of legislation, and the danger of being governed by passion or prejudice. The common business of the state was transacted without the violence of party spirit, and several of the officers who were displaced on account of their republicanism in 1798, were now reappointed.

14. Another election of president of the United States was soon to take place. It was known that a considerable majority of the Vermont assembly were in favor of the re-election of Mr Adams; the republican members therefore introduced a bill providing for the choice of electors by districts, thinking that method might prove more favorable to Mr Jefferson, the republican candidate, than their appointment in the usual way by the council and assembly, or by any general ticket. After a long discussion this bill was finally rejected by a vote of 95 to 73. By this vote it appeared that the republican party had considerably increased during the past year and that the majority on the side of the federalists amounted to only twenty two.

15. The Indians, having been so well supported and paid at their former attendance upon the legislature, again attended and urged their claims to lands in Vermont. The governor informed them that the assembly had decided that they had no title or just claim to any lands in Vermont—that the assembly had voted to give them \$50 to defray their expenses on their return to their own nations—but that no more money would be given them either to purchase their claims, or to defray their expenses. These decided measures brought the affair with the Indians to a close. During this session was also passed an act incorporating and establishing a college at Middlebury by a vote of 117 to 51.

16. The events of 1801, gave a new aspect to

political affairs. Mr Adams lost the election, and after repeated trials, Mr Jefferson was elected president of the United States, by a majority of one vote. He entered upon the duties of the office on the 4th of March, and in his inaugural address, he disclaimed the principles of political intolerance, urged those of candor and magnanimity, and declared that the difference of political opinions was not a difference of principles. Notwithstanding the apparent diversity of sentiment with regard to the federal constitution and government "we are," said he, "all federalists, we are all republicans."

17. By so frank an avowal of his political opinions and intentions, the candid of all parties were led to believe that party factions and animosities were about to come to an end, and that all would now unite in support of the federal government. This was the case in Vermont. But a short time however, elapsed before the United States attorney and marshall, for the district of Vermont, were removed from office, and their places filled by persons of decided republican sentiments. Similar changes were made in other states, and it was now believed that Mr Jefferson, notwithstanding his professions, would make his own political sentiments a necessary qualification for office.

18. In this state of public affairs the legislature of Vermont met at Newbury in October, 1801. In the house of representatives, the republican party now had a majority of about twenty, and it was now generally supposed that they would adopt the same course pursued by the federalists in 1798, and make all the appointments to office from their own political party. But this was not the case. Three new judges were appointed for the supreme court; but they were not selected on account of their political opinions, but on account of their supposed qualifications for the office. In the other appointments they followed the customary method of regarding the

county nomination, and looked rather to the qualifications of the candidate than to his political opinions. The customary business of legislation was pursued with diligence, calmness and impartiality.

19. In 1798, the federalists had introduced the custom of addressing the president of the United States, and the republican party, having now gained the ascendancy, thought it necessary to imitate the example, by a respectful address to Mr Jefferson. A committee was appointed, and an address reported, expressive of strong attachment to the constitution, and to the person and political opinions of the president, but containing no reflections upon the former administration. When this address was brought before the house for their adoption, the federalists proposed a trifling alteration in some of the expressions, which the opposite party supposed was designed to prevent any address being made. A debate now arose about words and phrases, which gradually increased in power and violence, till the spirit of party was wrought almost to phrensy and madness. This debate was continued on three successive days, and ten times were votes taken upon it by yeas and nays. At length after some slight alterations the address was finally adopted by a vote of 86 yeas to 59 nays.

20. In October 1802, the legislature met at Burlington, and Mr Tichenor was found to be re-elected governor by a respectable majority. In his speech he adverted to the alarming progress of party spirit, and to the dangers to be apprehended from it to our political institutions. The house, as usual, appointed a committee who reported an answer to the speech. This answer was intended not only as an answer to the governor but a declaration of the sentiments of the house with regard to the present and preceding administrations of the general government. It was written in a peculiar style, abounding in sly insinuations, fulsome adulation, and ambigu-

ous paragraphs. The debate upon this answer was warm and spirited, but it was finally adopted without alteration by a vote of 93 to 85. The minority entered upon the journals of the house, a protest against this answer signed by 59 members.

21. After this business was disposed of, and to prevent similar occasions of excitement, one of the members gravely introduced a motion to recommend that the governor *should not hereafter make a formal speech*. This motion was however decided in the negative, and happily no other business was brought forward which was calculated to arouse the prejudices, or inflame the minds of the members. The republican majority was evidently less than it was the preceding year, and did not venture to hazard the adoption of violent or proscriptive measures. The appointments were mostly made from the republican party, but the business of the session generally was managed with prudence and moderation.

22. In 1803, the legislature met at Westminster. Every part of the country was now agitated by political intrigues and debates. The governor opened the session as usual with a speech; but he carefully avoided political questions, and called the attention of the legislature immediately to the business of the state. A committee was appointed, who reported an answer to his excellency's speech, which was adopted without debate, and nothing occurred to call up the feelings of party, till the appointment of civil officers came on. The republicans had a small majority in the house, and they now resolved to employ it in weakening their opponents. Several of the judges were displaced, and men of more approved republican principles appointed in their places, and the work of proscription on account of political opinions was now carried farther than it was by the federalists in 1798.

23. The subject of banks first came before the legislature at this session. Petitions were received

from Windsor and Burlington to be allowed to establish banks in those towns; but the legislature was so little acquainted with the nature and tendency of such institutions, that they judged it prudent to refer the subject to the next session of the legislature. It was expected that proposals would be received from Congress during this session to amend the constitution of the United States, so as to oblige the electors to distinguish, on the votes given in, the person intended for president from the one intended for vice president. As it was supposed that the adoption of this amendment would secure the re-election of Mr Jefferson, the republican members were extremely anxious to act upon it before they adjourned. But, finding that it would require the session to be protracted to an unreasonable length, they decided upon an adjourned meeting, to be held at Windsor, on the last Tuesday of January.

24. In January, 1804, the legislature met at Windsor according to adjournment, and the proposed amendment was laid before them. After some debate the amendment was adopted by the assembly; yeas 93, nays 64. This same question was before the legislature in 1799, and was passed in the affirmative by a vote of 94 to 42. In this case all the federalists voted in favor of the proposed alteration, and all the republicans against it; but in 1804, all the republicans were in favor of the amendment, and all the federalists opposed to it. Thus it appears that both parties had totally changed their votes in the course of four years, and that they had either changed their principles, or that they acted without principle.

25. In October, 1804, the legislature held their annual session at Rutland. At this session another proposal for amending the constitution of the United States came before the assembly. This originated in Massachusetts, and its object was to apportion the representatives from the several states according to

the number of free white inhabitants, to the exclusion of those elected on account of the slaves in any state: This proposal was rejected by a vote of 106 to 76. The customary business of the session was transacted with expedition and propriety. Complaint having been made, that the judges of the supreme court had taken illegal fees, a committee was appointed towards the close of the session to inquire into the subject. The committee reported the facts, and that in their opinion, fees had been taken agreeably to the fee bill. The house accepted the report so far as it related to the facts, but not as to the opinion given of the legality of the proceedings of the judges. The legislature then adjourned, leaving the matter in this state of indecision.

26. In October, 1845, the assembly met at Danville. The governor's speech related principally to the internal affairs of the state, and, neither that nor the answer, which was returned by the assembly, was calculated to arouse party feelings, or afford subjects of controversy. The complaints against the judges for taking illegal fees was again taken up and occupied the assembly for several days, and gave rise to much warm debate. It was, however, finally *Resolved*, That it is the sense of this house, that the fees taken by the judges of the supreme court, were taken with upright views, and that no further order ought to be taken on the subject." This resolution was passed by a vote of 100 to 82.

27. At this session two more proposals for amending the constitution of the United States, came before the legislature. One from North Carolina, having for its object to empower Congress to pass a law to prevent the further importation of slaves into the United States, and the other from Kentucky, the object of which was to diminish the powers of the United State's courts. The former proposal was adopted by the assembly without debate or opposition, and the latter was referred to the next session of the

legislature. An act was passed at this session empowering the governor to take measures for ascertaining the true north line of the state, and another act fixing upon Montpelier as the permanent seat of the government of the state, from and after the year 1808.

29. The next session of the legislature was held at Middlebury in October, 1806. Mr Tichenor was again re-elected governor by a respectable majority, notwithstanding the efforts made by the republican party to prevent it. His opponents, however, had a considerable majority in the assembly, and in their answer to the governor's speech, they did not attempt to conceal their hostility to the measures, which he had recommended. When the resolutions from Kentucky, which had been laid over by the former assembly, came up, the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole, and after some debate adopted the proposed amendment by a vote of 148, to 34; thus manifesting their desire to increase their own powers by diminishing those of the general government. It being reported that Mr Jefferson intended to retire to private life at the close of his first term of office, the assembly drew up a respectful address to him, which was intended to induce him to become a candidate for re-election. An act was also passed at this session establishing a state bank consisting of two branches, one at Woodstock and the other at Middlebury.

30. In October, 1807, the legislature met at Woodstock, and, on counting the votes, Israel Smith, the republican candidate, was found to be elected governor in opposition to Mr Tichenor. In his speech, the governor confined his remarks to the internal affairs of the state, and particularly suggested such alterations in the criminal jurisprudence of the state, as to substitute confinement to hard labor in the place of corporeal punishment. In conformity to these suggestions an act was passed during the session establishing a state penitentiary at Windsor and

making the necessary appropriations for carrying it into effect.

31. The legislature assembled for the first time at Montpelier, the established capital of the state, in October 1808. Mr Tichenor was elected governor, in opposition to Mr Smith, who had held the office the preceding year. In his speech he expressed a decided disapprobation of the leading measures of Mr Jefferson's administration. The republicans having a majority in the assembly returned an answer, in which they expressed the fullest confidence in the president, and a hearty approval of his measures. No subject of uncommon interest was brought forward at this session, and the ordinary business was disposed of in the usual manner.

32. In 1809, the republican party succeeded in electing Jonas Galusha governor, in opposition to Mr Tichenor, who had filled that office with fidelity for eleven years. The governor's speech and the reply to it by the assembly, were expressive of the political opinions entertained by the republican party generally throughout the union. At this session an address was adopted congratulating James Madison upon his elevation to the presidency. A proposed amendment to the federal constitution from Virginia also came before the assembly, the object of which was to enable state legislatures to remove their senators in Congress from office, when they should deem it expedient. The amendment was however rejected by a majority of the house.

33. In 1810, 1811 and 1812, Mr Galusha was successively re-elected governor of the state, and the republican party had each year a majority in the assembly. The spirit of party now run extremely high, but the usual business of the state continued to be transacted with fidelity. In 1811, another proposal for amending the constitution of the United States came before the assembly. This amendment declared that any citizen, who should accept any

title of nobility or honor, or any pension or emolument, from any foreign power, without the consent of Congress, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States. The amendment was adopted by the assembly. The year 1812 is memorable on account of the declaration of war, by the United States against Great Britain. We shall not attempt to give the particulars of this war, and still it will probably be expected that we should at least give a sketch of the transactions within our own borders and in which our own citizens were more particularly concerned; and this we shall attempt to do in the following section.

SECTION III.

Legislative proceedings from 1812 to 1815—War With Great Britain—Events on Lake Champlain—Battle at Plattsburgh.

1. Our limits will by no means permit us to investigate the causes by which the United States were led to engage in the second war with Great Britain, nor to mention any of the events of that war except such as transpired in our immediate vicinity. Causes of complaint had existed for several years, which, as early as 1809, led to the passage of a law by Congress, interdicting all commercial intercourse with Great Britain. On the 3d of April, 1812, Congress laid an embargo upon all the shipping within the jurisdiction of the United States for 90 days, and on the 18th of June following, an act was passed declaring war with Great Britain. On the passage of this act the vote stood as follows; in the house of representatives yeas 79, nays 49, and in the senate yeas 19, nays 13. The principal causes which led to the adoption of this measure were declared to be the impressment of American seamen by the British—

the plundering of American commerce, and the British orders in council."

2. In October, 1812, the legislature of Vermont assembled at Montpelier. In his speech Governor Galusha urged the assembly to second the measures of the general government—provide the means for the defence of our own citizens, and for sustaining our national rights and honor. The assembly returned an answer fully concurring in the sentiments of the governor; but thinking the exigencies of the times demanded a more explicit avowal, they resolved that since war had been declared by the constituted authority of the country "we pledge ourselves to each other and to our government, that with our individual exertions, our example and influence, we will support our government and country in the present contest, and rely upon the great Arbiter of events for a favorable result."

3. The above resolution was passed by a vote of 128 to 79. But the minority were not silent. They entered a protest upon the journals of the house in which they declared the resolution to be subversive of the true principles of a republican government, and also expressed their decided disapprobation of the leading measures of the administration, pronouncing the declaration of war to be premature and impolitic. The majority, however, proceeded to act up to the spirit of their resolve, and passed a law, prohibiting all intercourse between the people of Vermont and Canada, without a permit from the governor, under a penalty of \$1000 fine, and seven years confinement at hard labor in the state's prison. They also passed an act exempting the person and property of the militia while in actual service, from attachment—an act, laying a tax of one cent per acre on the lands in the state, in addition to the usual assessments, and other acts relating to the detaching and paying of the militia.

4. These legislative regulations proving oppres-

sive to the people, many of the supporters of the war abandoned the republican ranks and went over to the opposition. As the elections in 1813 approached both parties exerted to the utmost every means in their power to gain or preserve the ascendancy. When the assembly came together in October, it was found that neither candidate for governor had been elected by the people. On attempting a choice by the assembly, they were found to be divided into two parties exactly equal. After much manœuvring and several trials, Martin Chittenden, the federal candidate was elected by a small majority. The sentiments of the governor's speech and of the answer to it, were in the highest tone of federalism and consequently in direct opposition to the war and the measures of the general government. The minority, 75 in number however, protested against these sentiments and entered their reasons upon the journals of the house.

5. The federalists having now the ascendancy, nearly all the appointments to office were made from that party: after which the legislature proceeded to repeal the several laws before mentioned which had been enacted the preceding year. The spirit of party was now wrought up to the highest pitch, and the parties did not hesitate to brand each other with the opprobrious names of tories, traitors and enemies to their country. The enmity was such as to destroy the harmony and intercourse of families and neighbors and at times they seemed to be on the eve of proceeding to open hostilities.

6. The smuggling business led to frequent encounters between the smugglers and custom-house-officers, during the war and the non intercourse which preceded it, in some of which blood was shed and lives lost. The first serious affray of this kind took place on Winoski river, at Burlington in 1808, between a party in the employ of the custom department and a smuggling vessel called the Black Snake. In this encounter

two men were killed by the smugglers. The smugglers were, however, taken and tried by a special court at Burlington. Dean, one of them, was executed and the others, excepting Day who was discharged, were sentenced to the State's prison. Franklin county was the scene of frequent skirmishes. The smugglers usually travelled in the night and went in so large companies and so well armed as to make it very dangerous business for the custom-house officers to interrupt them. Similar disturbances were common all along our northern frontier.

7. About the first of September, 1813, Samuel Beach of Canaan in the northeast corner of the state had a permit from the governor to go into Canada to repair a mill dam. He sent forward his workmen with a team, which was taken from them by John Dennett and others, and driven back. Beach in attempting to recover his team was fired upon by Dennett and killed. Dennett and his associates were taken and confined in jail, from which he escaped in January following to the neighboring forests, where he continued till the next August, when he was retaken, but not till after he was mortally wounded by his pursuers. It appeared that Dennett resisted and was shot while attempting to kill Mr Morgan, by a Mr. Sperry another of the pursuers.

8. In the summer of 1812 some preparations were made on lake Champlain to oppose the naval force of the British. Nothing, however, occurred on the lake worthy of notice till the 2d of June 1813. On that day the Growler and Eagle sailed from Plattsburgh under the command of Lieut Smith in pursuit of some British gun boats which had made their appearance on the lake. On the following morning, when near Canada line, they were led in pursuit of the boats, into shoal water near the shore, where the Eagle grounded and became unmanageable, and after four hours hard fighting they were obliged to surrender to the British. On the 30th of July, a detachment of the Brit-

ish about 1400 strong landed at Plattsburgh, where they destroyed the American barracks, estimated to be worth \$25,000, and much other property, both public and private. The public stores having been previously removed to Burlington the enemy proceeded thither and fired a few shot upon the town, but as soon as the cannon began to play upon them from the shore they retired.

9. On the 20th of August the Americans had equipped a naval force upon lake Champlain consisting of the President, carrying 12 guns, Com. Preble 11, Montgomery, 11, Frances, 6, and two gun boats and six scows carrying one gun each, making in the whole 48 guns. With this force Com. Macdonough sailed from Burlington to the lines in September and offered battle to the enemy, but they declined and retired into Canada. The northern army was assembled at Burlington under the command of Gen. Hampton and consisted of about 4000 men. Early in September this army was embarked at Burlington and landed at Cumberland head near Plattsburgh. On the 9th they proceeded to Chazy and attacked the enemy's advanced post at Odletown.

10. Finding it impracticable to make his way into Canada by that route, Hampton returned to Champlain and took the route to Chatagnay, where he arrived on the 25th. Col Clark was in the mean time detached and ordered to attack a small British force at St Armand on Mssisco bay. He found the enemy drawn up under Maj. Powel, but wholly unexpected an attack by land, and, after an action of ten minutes they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The American force engaged was 102, and the number of prisoners taken and sent to Burlington was 101. Nine of the enemy were killed and 14 wounded. The army under Gen. Hampton engaged with the enemy at Chataguay on the 26th of October, but being unsuccessful and the season far advanced, he soon after returned into winter quarters at Plattsburgh.

11. A brigade of Vermont militia, which had been drafted into the service of the United States and marched to Plattsburgh, were on the 10th of November discharged from service by a proclamation of Governor Chittenden and ordered to return home. To this order the officers of said brigade refused obedience and returned a written protest against it. The militia, however, returned home, as their time of service expired, and no further notice was taken of the transaction. Commodore Macdonough went into winter quarters at Otter creek with his flotilla on the 19th of December. Thus terminated the northern campaign for 1813.

12. In the spring of 1814, the northern army, having been placed under General Wilkinson, advanced from Plattsburgh along the west side of the lake and entered Canada. After an unsuccessful attack upon the stone mills at La Cole, and some other skirmishes, in which the Americans lost about 100 in killed and wounded, they found it necessary to retreat. In the mean time Commodore Macdonough was making every effort to get in readiness in Otter creek, a sufficient naval force to match that of the enemy upon the lake. On the 14th of May the enemy's fleet, consisting of a brig, three sloops and 13 galleys passed up the lake and opened a spirited fire upon the battery at the mouth of Otter creek, with a view of forcing their way up the creek and destroying the American shipping before it should be ready for service. But in this they were unsuccessful. They were repulsed by the garrison and Vermont militia, and soon after returned to the northward.

13. About the last of May, Commodore Macdonough entered the lake with his flotilla and proceeded to Plattsburgh, and afterwards advanced nearer the lines, but nothing of consequence occurred on the lake till the latter part of the season. About the first of September Governor Prevost entered the territory of the United States at the head of 14000 men and advan-

ced towards Plattsburgh, which was garrisoned by only one brigade under General Macomb; the main northern army having marched to the westward. On the 7th of September the enemy appeared before Plattsburgh, and were employed in getting on their battering train, erecting batteries, and in skirmishes with the Americans, but did not make a general assault till the arrival of their flotilla.

14. In the mean time every effort was made to call in the neighboring militia. Expresses were sent into Vermont; and the Green Mountain Boys, without distinction of party, shouldered their guns and hastened forward to repel invasion; and in the part which they took in the subsequent conflict they nobly sustained their high character for firmness and bravery. The American land force however continued much inferior to that of the British. The British force upon the lake was also superior to the American. It was commanded by Commodore Downie and consisted of a frigate of 30 guns, a brig of 16, two sloops of 11 each and 13 gun boats carrying 18 guns, amounting in the whole to 95 guns, and manned by 1050 men. The American force under Commodore Macdonough consisted of the Saratoga of 26 guns, the eagle, of 20, Ticonderoga of 17, the Preble of 7 and 10 gun boats carrying 16 guns, amounting in the whole to 86, and manned by 820 men.

15. As it was generally understood to be the intention of the British to make an attack both by land and water at the same time, Commodore Macdonough determined to await the approach of the enemy's squadron at anchor in Plattsburgh bay. Early in the morning of the 11th of September the lookout boat announced the approach of the enemy, and about 9 o'clock they anchored in a line about 300 yards from the American squadron. In this situation the whole force on both sides became engaged. The conflict was exceedingly obstinate; the enemy fought with great bravery, but the superiority of the American

gunnery prevailed over the enemy's superior force. After an action of two hours and twenty minutes the fire of the enemy was silenced, and her flag, brig and two sloops were surrendered to the Americans. Some of their gallees were sunk and the others made their escape. The British lost in this action 84 killed and 110 wounded. Among the killed were Commodore Downie and three Lieutenants. The American loss was 52 killed and 75 wounded. Among the former were Lieutenants Gamble and Stansbury.

16. The commencement of the naval action seemed to be the signal for a general assault by land. The enemy opened their batteries upon the American works and at the same time attempted to cross the Saranac and join the force of the Americans. The Americans kept up a destructive fire from their forts and met the enemy at every point with the most determined bravery. As soon as it was known that their fleet had surrendered the enemy relinquished all their hopes and began making arrangements for a retreat. During the afternoon and night all the enemy's forces were withdrawn and they retired with such precipitation, and were so closely pursued by the Americans, that they were obliged to leave behind their wounded, and large quantities of provisions, ammunition and military stores. The whole loss of the enemy upon land, in killed, wounded, prisoners and deserters, exceeded 2500 men. The aggregate loss of the Americans did not exceed 150.

17. After the battle at Plattsburgh nothing further occurred upon lake Champlain worthy of notice during the war. The legislature of Vermont assembled as usual in October, and it again appeared that no governor had been elected by the suffrages of the people. The legislature then proceeded to the choice of a governor and Martin Chittenden was elected by a majority of 29 votes. Much complaint having been made because the governor did not order out the militia for the defence of Plattsburgh, instead of call-

ing upon them as volunteers, he adverted to that subject in his speech by saying, that, as no portion of our militia had been detached by the President for the service of the United States, a call upon our patriotic citizens for their voluntary services was, in this case, considered to be the only mode by which efficient and timely aid could be afforded.

16. He spoke in the highest term of the officers and men employed in repelling the enemy and in teaching them the "mortifying lesson, that the soil of freedom will not bear the tread of hostile feet with impunity;" and declared their "achievements were not surpassed in the records of naval and military warfare." But while he acknowledged with gratitude, the interposition of Providence for preventing the designs of the enemy and saving our borders from the devastations of war, he declared that his opinion of the propriety of the war remained unaltered—that he conscientiously disapproved of it as unnecessary, "wise and hopeless in all its offensive operations."

On this speech the house returned a dignified and respectful answer, reciprocating the sentiments of the excellency with regard to the transactions at Burlington, and pledging to him their cordial cooperation in measures calculated to promote the public good.

At this session a resolution was adopted expressing the thanks of the legislature to General Macomb and his compatriots in arms—to General Strong and the patriotic volunteers from Vermont under his command, and to Commodore Macdonough and the officers and crew of his squadron, in testimony of their high sense of their bravery and good conduct on the memorable 11th of September, 1814, by which the enemy were repulsed by land, and their squadron captured upon the lake. In the further consideration of his services, the legislature passed an act granting to Commodore Macdonough a farm belonging to Vermont, and lying upon Cumberland head, and in full

view of the late naval engagement in which he had acquired so much honor. A communication was received during this session from the legislature of Massachusetts inviting Vermont to appoint delegates to meet delegates from the other New England States at Hartford, Connecticut, to take into consideration the state of the Union. But, by a vote of the assembly, this invitation was unanimously declined.

23. From this period the violence of party spirit in Vermont began rapidly to abate. The invasion of our territory by the fleets and armies of the enemy, had united the feelings of parties in the common defence, and many, who were at first opposed to the war, were now convinced that the good of their country demanded the united efforts of all our citizens in prosecuting it to an honorable and successful termination. On the 24th of December, 1814, a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent between Great Britain and America by their respective plenipotentiaries. The months of war now ceased—the gloom which overhang our land was dispersed, and all were rejoiced to see our soldiers reconvered into citizens—our implements of war into instruments of husbandry and to hear the peaceful hum of business instead of the roar of cannon and the trumpet of war.

SECTION IV.

Legislative proceedings from 1814 to the close of the year 1832.

1. Before the meeting of the assembly in 1815, peace had been restored to the country, and many of the causes which had agitated the community had disappeared. The republican party had now gained the ascendancy in the state, and Mr Galusha was again elected governor by the people, by a handsome
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majority. The governor's speech contained nothing to revive the violence of party. He alluded to the storm of war which had just passed over their heads and was now succeeded by the calm and sunshine of peace, and then invited the attention of the legislature to the immediate business of the state. Among the acts passed at this session was one granting to a company the exclusive right of navigating lake Champlain by steam for 23 years. This act was afterwards found to be unconstitutional and void.

2. The spring and summer of 1816, were remarkably cold. Snow fell to the depth of several inches in all parts of Vermont on the 8th of June, and from the general failure of the crops there was an uncommon scarcity of provision. Mr Galusha was this year re-elected governor, and, in his speech, he called the attention of the legislature to the encouragement of manufactures. The customary answer to his excellency's speech this year gave rise to a spirited debate, in which the federal party were treated with great asperity, on account of the vote of the representatives in Congress, from Vermont, who were federalists, by which the pay of the representatives was increased contrary to the wishes of the freemen of Vermont. With this session terminated the practice of returning an answer to the governor's speech, which had, from the first election of Mr Tichenor in 1797, every year consumed much time, and often given rise to the most violent contentions.

3. At the three following elections in 1817, 1818, and 1819, Mr Galusha was successively chosen governor of the state, and nothing occurred to excite the violence of party, or to interrupt the general prosperity. Bountiful harvests rewarded the toil of the husbandman, and the blessings arising from the diffusion of knowledge, the success of the mechanic arts, and the influence of good government were generally diffused. In 1817, the president of the United States, Mr Monroe, in his tour through the

middle and eastern states, passed through Vermont, and every where received the respect due to his dignified office, and the gratitude merited by a life devoted to the service of his country.

4. In 1819, the usual business of the legislature was transacted with unanimity, and, among other things, a resolution was adopted approving in the highest terms of the measures and objects of the American Colonization Society. Mr Galusba having signified his intention to retire from public life, the house adopted a respectful address to him on the occasion, in which they say that, "on a review of the events of the memorable struggle of our fathers for independence, we find you in early life on the banks of the Walloomsuc, with your patriotic band teaching them boldly to defend their country. In discharging the duties of councillor, judge and governor, you have ever merited and received the approbation of your fellow citizens."

5. In 1820, Richard Skinner, formerly chief justice of the state, was elected governor. In his speech, he presented a clear view of the evils resulting from the frequent alterations in the public statutes, and he expressed as his opinion, that the present organization of the Vermont judiciary, was calculated for the despatch of business and to prevent the multiplication of lawsuits. At this session a resolution was passed remonstrating against the admission of Missouri into the union with a constitution legalizing slavery, and the cruel and unnatural traffic in human blood, and instructing their senators and representatives in Congress, to exert their influence and use all legal measures to prevent it.

6. In 1821, Mr Skinner was again elected governor. In his speech, the governor informed the assembly that he had received communications from Maryland and New Hampshire, respecting the appropriation of the public lands belonging to the United States, to the several states for the benefit of

education, and said that the people of Vermont "could feel no delicacy in making a claim of this kind, for no one of the United States, in proportion to their ability, contributed more to the acquisition of those rights, which were purchased by the toil, distresses and sacrifices of the revolutionary war. Situated on the frontier, they constituted the barrier between the enemy and the confederated states. Not having been acknowledged as a member of the confederation, no part of the expense they incurred in the war has been assumed by the general government, while they have participated in the burden of the public debt." In conformity with these suggestions, resolutions were passed declaring the right of each of the states to a participation in the benefits of the public lands and requesting our delegation in Congress to use their endeavors to procure the passage of an act appropriating to the use of the state of Vermont, for the purposes of education, such portion of the public lands as should be equitable and just.

7. Mr Skinner was again elected governor in 1822. In his speech he called the attention of the legislature particularly to the subject of manufactures. The committee on manufactures to whom this part of his excellency's speech was referred, made a report, in which they say "Vermont can raise as fine wool as any quarter of the globe, and her mountains roll down their thousand streams to aid us in its manufacture. It also abounds in ores, and minerals, and forests upon which the industry and ingenuity of our citizens might operate to great advantage, could sufficient capital be allured to these objects by the patronage of our laws." In compliance with a recommendation of the governor an act was passed declaring all contracts void where interest should be taken, or secured, at a higher rate than six per cent per annum.

8. Mr Skinner having signified his wish no longer

to be considered a candidate for the office of governor, at the meeting of the legislature in 1823, Mr Van Ness was found to be elected in his stead. In his speech he invited the attention of the legislature to the immediate concerns of the state, but was not sensible that any material alteration in the laws were at that time demanded. He discouraged all change which was not particularly necessary, as producing uncertainty in law, and thereby occasioning perplexing and expensive law suits. An act was passed at this session prohibiting horse-racing, under a penalty of the forfeiture of the horses and money staked; but few alterations were made in the existing laws.

9. In 1824 Mr Van Ness was re-elected governor without opposition. In compliance with the recommendation of the governor, an act was passed at this session, giving the choice of electors of president and vice president to the people by a general ticket. General La Fayette having arrived in this country on the 17th of August, a committee of the legislature reported that "as a nation we owed to him a debt of gratitude, and that Vermont, in common with her sister states, would rejoice in an opportunity of manifesting it." A resolution was accordingly passed requesting the governor, in behalf of the people of this state, to invite General La Fayette to extend his tour into Vermont and honor its citizens with his presence. On the 4th of July 1825, La Fayette entered Vermont for the first time at Windsor, where he was joyfully received by the governor, and a numerous body of citizens assembled to welcome the early benefactor of their country. From Windsor he proceeded by the way of Montpelier to Burlington, and was everywhere received with the warmest affection and gratitude, and with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of admiration and applause.

10. Mr Van Ness was again chosen governor in 1825, and in his communication to the assembly he invited their attention particularly to the subject of

internal improvements. A board of canal commissioners was appointed and five hundred dollars were appropriated to defray their expenses. It was made the duty of these commissioners to assist any engineers, who might be employed by the general government to ascertain the most practicable routes for canals within this state. The great objects contemplated were, the improvement of the navigation of Connecticut river and the connexion of that river with lake Champlain and lake Memphremagog by means of canals. The law setting forth the principles upon which the grand list for the assessment of taxes in this state, shall be made out, was repealed at this session, and a new law upon this subject enacted. By this act it is provided that there shall be an appraisal of real estate once in 5 years, and that it shall be set in the list at the rate of four per cent for buildings and village lots and six per cent for other real estate, on its appraised value, and to this the rates of $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ property are calculated to correspond.

11. Mr Van Ness having signified his wish no longer to receive the suffrages of his fellow citizens, Mr Butler was, in 1826, elected governor of the state. In his speech he called the attention of the assembly to the subject of lotteries and the sale of lottery tickets in this state. In consideration of which, an act was passed, prohibiting the sale of tickets without a licence under the penalty of a heavy fine. Mr Butler was again elected governor in 1827. He now invited the attention of the legislature to the existing laws on the subject of education, and recommended the appointment, in each town or county, of commissioners for the examination of teachers and for the general superintendence of schools. In consequence of these suggestions, a general plan of education was adopted, designed for the improvement of schools and for producing uniformity in the methods of instruction. It provided that a superintending commit-

tee should be appointed annually in each town, and that no teachers should be employed in the public schools, who had not been examined by said committee, and who had not received from them a certificate of their qualifications for teaching. It also provided for the appointment of five school commissioners, whose business it should be to have a general supervision of the business of education in the state, procure and circulate information on the subject, recommend suitable books to be used in schools, ascertain if any alteration in the law be necessary, and make an annual report to the legislature.

12. In 1828, Mr Crafts was elected governor. In his speech he congratulated his fellow citizens upon the unrivalled prosperity of the country—declared their advance in population and resources to be unprecedented in the history of man—and the means of happiness within their power to be more abundant than ever fell to the lot of any other people. The legislature this year passed a resolution requiring their senators and representatives in Congress to use all justifiable means to procure the passage of an act granting pensions to all American citizens without regard to their present circumstances, who served during the war of the revolution. In 1829, Mr Crafts was again chosen governor by the votes of the freemen. Among the subjects which came before the assembly was a resolution of the legislature of South Carolina, declaring that Congress had no constitutional power to lay duties on imports for the encouragement of domestic manufactures, or for internal improvements; and also communications from Georgia, Virginia and Missouri, sanctioning the same principles. The legislature disposed of this matter by resolving that they would not concur with the South Carolina resolution.

13. As already observed, on the return of peace in 1815, party spirit rapidly subsided, and for sever-

al years a remarkable unanimity of sentiment with regard to men and measures prevailed. After the election of Mr Adams to the presidency in 1825, an organized opposition was formed to his administration by the friends of the rival candidates, who succeeded in 1829, in elevating General Jackson to that office in opposition to the incumbent. These two great divisions of the people, were founded chiefly in a preference of particular men, and not in a difference of political principles. The abduction of William Morgan in 1826, for divulging the secrets of masonry, gave rise to another party, founded in opposition to the principles of masonry, and which is hence called the anti-masonic party. And thinking it to be the most effectual way to put down an institution, which they believe to be dangerous to community, they have made it a part of their political creed that no adhering mason shall receive their support for office.

14. This party was not distinctly organized in Vermont till the year 1829. In 1830, it was found that three candidates for governor had been supported and that no election had been made by the people. Mr Crafts, the national republican and masonic candidate, received 13486 votes, Mr Palmer the anti-masonic candidate had 10925 and Mr Meech, the administration candidate, had 6285. The choice devolving upon the legislature, after 32 ballotings, Mr Crafts was elected by a small majority. The abolition of imprisonment for debt had in former years frequently engaged the attention of the legislature and, in his speech, the governor again invited attention to the subject. After much debate a law was passed declaring that on all judgments obtained upon debts contracted after the 1st day of January, 1831, the debtor may within two hours after the rendition of such judgment, before a court of justice submit himself to an examination on oath by such court or creditor, or his attorney, touching his situation, circumstances, or property, and may be en-

titled to the benefit of the oath, which shall be administered to such debtor by said court of justice, and a record made thereof, and no execution shall be issued thereon.

15. In 1831, each of the three parties supported its candidate for governor, in consequence of which, no election was made by the people. The choice again devolving upon the legislature, Mr Palmer, the antimasonic candidate, was elected at the ninth balloting by a majority of one vote. In his speech he says that "the general condition of our country is that of peace, prosperity and happiness. Compared with any other people we have the most abundant cause for grateful acknowledgment to the Author of all good that our lot has been cast here." After making the customary appointments of civil officers, the house proceeded with diligence in discharge of their remaining duties. Few subjects of general interest were brought up, and most of the acts passed this session were of a local or private nature. Among the bills passed was one taxing foreign bank stock, one incorporating the Bennington and Brattleborough rail road company and one incorporating the Rutland and Whitehall rail road company. Several new banks were also granted.

16. In 1832, there was again no election of governor, by the people, and at the 43d balloting, Mr Palmer was re-elected by the legislature. In compliance with the suggestions in the governor's message, a law was passed at this session for regulating and governing the militia and resolutions were adopted, approving of the existing tariff law of Congress, of appropriations for internal improvement, and of re-chartering the bank of the United States. A bill was also passed providing for the erection of a new state house in Montpelier and appropriating \$30,000 for that purpose, the people of Montpelier pledging themselves to pay one half that sum into the State treasury.

17. We have now brought down our sketch of the

legislative proceeding in Vermont to the present time. We are aware that it is too brief to be fully satisfactory ; and, in our selection from the mass of materials, we are not sure that we have always taken those things, which are most interesting and valuable. A lack of room, on account of the prescribed limits of our volume, must be our excuse for brevity, and a lack of judgment and leisure for research, for the injudicious selection of materials. The deficiencies of our narrative will, however, we trust, be made up in a good degree by the following summaries and tables.

SECTION V.

The Frame of Government—Legislative Power—Executive Power—Council of Censors—Judiciary—Laws—Education—Diseases, &c.

1. Vermont declared her independence and her right to organize a government of her own on the 15th of January, 1777. On the 2d of July following a convention of delegates from the several towns met at Windsor and adopted the first constitution. This constitution was revised by the same convention in the following December, and went into effect without ever being submitted to the people for their ratification. The constitution was again revised in 1786, and in 1792, and was adopted in its present form by a convention, assembled at Windsor, on the 4th of July, 1793. The following are the most important provisions of this instrument.

2. The supreme *Legislative power* is vested in a House of Representatives, chosen annually by the freemen, on the first Tuesday of September. Each organized town has a right to choose one representative. The representatives meet on the 2d Thursday

of the October succeeding their election, and are styled "THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF VERMONT." They have power to choose their own officers; to sit on their own adjournments; prepare bills and enact them into laws; they may expel members, but not for causes known to their constituents antecedent to their election; impeach state criminals; grant charters of incorporation; constitute towns, boroughs, cities, and counties. In conjunction with the council, they are annually to elect judges of the supreme, county and probate courts, sheriffs and justices of the peace, and also, as often as there shall be occasion, elect major generals and brigadier generals. *The General Assembly* have all the powers necessary for the legislature of a free and sovereign state; but can neither add to, alter, abolish or infringe any part of the constitution.

3. The supreme *Executive power* is vested in a governor, lieutenant governor, and a council of twelve persons, who are also chosen annually by the freemen on the first Tuesday of September, and meet with the general assembly in October. They are to commission all officers; prepare and lay before the assembly such business as shall appear to them necessary; sit as judges to hear and determine on impeachments. They have power to grant pardons and remit fines, except in cases of treason and murder, in which they have power to grant reprieves, but not pardon, till after the next session of the legislature; and in cases of impeachment, in which there is no remission, or mitigation, of punishment, but by act of legislation. In the recess of the house of representatives, they may lay embargoes, or prohibit exportation for any time not exceeding 30 days, and may call a special meeting of the general assembly, whenever they shall deem it necessary. The governor is captain-general and commander in chief of all the forces of the state, but cannot command in person unless advised thereto by the

council, and then only so long as they shall approve ; and the lieutenant governor is, by virtue of his office, lieutenant general of all the forces of the state. To prevent the evil consequences, which might result from hasty determinations, all bills which originate in the assembly, are laid before the governor and council, for their revision and concurrence, or proposals of amendment. The governor and council have no negative upon the house ; but they have power to suspend the passing of any bill until the next session of the legislature.

4. The constitution provides for the appointment of a *council of censors*, consisting of thirteen persons, to be chosen by the people every 7th year on the last Wednesday in March, and who are to meet on the first Wednesday of the June following. It is their business to inquire whether the constitution has been preserved inviolate ; whether the legislative and executive branches of government have performed their duty ; whether public taxes have been justly laid and collected ; and whether the laws have been duly executed. They also have power to pass public censures, order impeachments and recommend the repeal of such laws as they may deem contrary to the principles of the constitution ; and, should they judge it necessary, they may propose amendments to the constitution and call a convention to act upon them. These powers they may exercise for the space of one year from the day of their election and no longer.

5. The constitution of Vermont differs in some respects from that of every other state in the union. The whole legislative power is vested in a house of representatives, but the council, though not a co-ordinate branch, has power to suspend the acts of the legislature, and prevent their becoming laws, for the period of one year. Thus every law which is not approved by the council, is in effect, submitted directly to the people. If the people approve it, they

will manifest it through their representatives, the following year. If the legislature re-enacts this suspended bill at the next session, it then becomes a law without the concurrence of the governor and council; from which it will be seen that the government of Vermont approaches very nearly to a pure democracy.

6. The successive councils of censors have frequently proposed so to alter the constitution, as to establish a senate, instead of the executive council, and make it a co-ordinate branch of the legislature, but these proposals have allways been rejected by the conventions, which have been called to consider them. Only one amendment to the constitution has been made during the last forty years, and that only provided for the naturalization of foreigners, who should settle in this state, agreeably to the laws of congress.

7. The *Judiciary* powers are vested in a supreme court and court of chancery, consisting at present of five judges and a county court in each county, consisting of one of the supreme court judges, as chief justice and two assistant justices; a probate court in each probate district, of which there are nineteen: and justices of the peace in each town, all appointed annually by the legislature. The *supreme court* and court of chancery holds one session in each county annually, and have original and conclusive jurisdiction in all suits of chancery and petitions not triable by jury. Appeals may be had to this court from the county courts, only for the determination of questions of law. The *county courts* hold respectively two sessions annually in each county. They have original jurisdiction of all criminal matters, excepting such as are made cognizable before justices of the peace. *Justices of the peace* may try actions of a criminal nature where the fine, or forfeiture, does not exceed \$7. They have original and exclusive jurisdiction in civil cases, where the matter

in demand does not exceed \$100, except for slanderous words, replevin above \$7, and trespass upon freehold above the sum of \$20.

8. *Crimes and punishments.*—Treason, murder, perjury, in consequence of which some person's life is taken away, and arson, by means of which some person's life is destroyed, or his, or her body, or members, injured, are at present the only crimes punished with death by our laws. Manslaughter, and the second conviction for burglary, are punished by imprisonment at hard labor in the state prison for life, or for a term of years, in no case less than seven, and in that of manslaughter not less than ten. The punishment for perjury, where life is not taken in consequence, may be the same as for manslaughter. Arson, without death, burglary, rape, robbery, perjury, forgery, theft, adultery, polygamy, incest, counterfeiting, and swindling, are punished by imprisonment at hard labor, and by fine, in no case exceeding \$1,000, or either of said punishments, in the discretion of the court. Only three executions have taken place in this state, by sentence of a court of law, since the assumption of the government in 1778. The first was Dean, who was executed at Burlington in 1808, the second was Godfrey, executed at Woodstock in 1818, and the third was Virginia, a man of color, executed at St Albans in 1820. David Reding was executed at Bennington before the present form of government was established, and several have suffered, in time of war, by sentence of court martials. Since the establishment of the state prison at Windsor, the average number of convicts confined there, has been about 100. These have been sentenced for various crimes, and for different terms of service, but the greatest part for theft and counterfeiting.

9. The *laws of Vermont* consist of the acts of the legislature, which are published at the close of the session, making an annual pamphlet of from 50 to 100 pages. The first attempts at legislation in Ver-

mont are not preserved. The laws passed previous to February 1779, are not on record in the office of the secretary of state. The most important acts from that time down to the close of the year 1786, are to be found in the valuable work entitled "*Vermont State Paper*," compiled by the Honorable William Slade, Junior. In 1787, there was a general revision of the laws, and those then in force were collected and published in a single volume. They were again revised, digested and published in a single octavo volume in the year 1825. By our present laws every organized town is obliged to support all the poor, who have a legal settlement in the same. A legal settlement is acquired in several ways; as by a residence of seven years in the town, without expense to the town, or of five years if their rateable property has been set in the list of the town during that time at \$60, or upwards. Persons sworn into town office two years, gain a residence thereby. Married women always have the settlement of their husbands. Legitimate children have the settlement of their parents, and illegitimate children the settlement of their mothers. Children cannot gain a settlement in a town by birth where their parents have not a legal settlement.

10. *Education*.—There are few states in the Union in which useful knowledge is more generally diffused than in Vermont. The first settlers were not generally well educated men, but the trying circumstances in which they were placed, led them to form a true estimate of the importance of education, and we accordingly find them, very soon after assuming the powers of government, providing for the establishment of schools and seminaries of learning. Each organized town is divided into school districts, and in each district a school is maintained during a part of the year. A part, and in some places, all of the money for the support of these schools is raised upon the Grand List, in consequence of which our

schools are open to the poor as well as the rich, and, if any children in Vermont grow up without a competent knowledge of the common useful branches of education, the fault is wholly chargeable upon themselves, or their parents. Besides our common schools, academies are established in most of the counties, where instruction may be had in the higher branches of education. There are likewise two colleges and three medical institutions in Vermont.

11. The first printing office was established in Vermont at Westminster in the year 1778, by Judah Paddock, Spooner and Timothy Green. The same year Judah Paddock and Alden Spooner were appointed state printers by the General Assembly. In April 1781, the first News Paper printed in Vermont, was published at Westminster by Judah P. Spooner and Timothy Green. It was called the *Vermont Gazette* or *Green Mountain Post Boy*, and its motto was characteristic of the inhabitants of the Green Mountain state.

“Pliant as reeds, where streams of freedom glide,
Firm as the hills, to stem oppression’s tide.”

This paper was issued weekly on Monday, on a sheet of pot size, but was continued only one or two years.

12. The second paper published in Vt. was the *Vermont Gazette, or Freeman’s Depository*. It was commenced by Anthony Haswell and David Russell, June 5th 1783, and has been continued to the present time. The press and types which were at Westminster having been purchased by George Hough he removed them to Windsor in 1783, and in partnership with Alden Spooner commenced publishing the *Vermont Journal and Universal Advertiser* on the 7th of August of that year. This was the third paper published in Vermont and the second which continued any considerable length of time. It is still continued in connection with the Republican and Yeoman. There are at this time in Vermont no less than twenty four pa-

pers published weekly, besides three or four periodicals which are issued less frequently.

13. *Religion*.—The constitution of Vermont secures to every person freedom of religious opinion and worship, and declares, "that no man can be compelled to erect or support any place of worship, or to maintain any minister, contrary to the dictates of his own conscience." No person can be deprived of his civil rights, as a citizen, on account of his religious sentiments, or his peculiar mode of worship. Yet all denominations are enjoined by the constitution to observe the Sabbath, and to keep up some sort of religious worship, which to them shall seem most agreeable to the revealed will of God." The whole number of clergymen in this state is about 350, and they are of the following denominations, viz. Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Freewill Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Christians, Universalists, Unitarians and Friends. Some new sects have occasionally sprung up in this state, but they soon came to nought.

14. *Diseases*.—Vermont enjoys a pure and wholesome air. The diseases most common to our climate, are fevers, dysentery, consumption and other inflammatory complaints, arising from colds, induced by the sudden changes in the weather to which this state is subject. The typhus or slow fever, has been the most common in Vermont, though it has not generally been very fatal. It has prevailed more or less in almost every year since the settlement of the state was commenced. The spotted fever commenced its ravages in this state about the beginning of the year 1811, and continued its devastations for about two years. This was the most alarming disease ever known in Vermont. It usually attacked persons of the most robust and hardy constitutions and often proved fatal in the course of a few hours. It was not uncommon that the patient was a corpse before a physician could be brought to his assistance.

15. The lung fever followed the spotted fever, and was the most fatal epidemic disease ever experienced in this part of the country. This disease resembled the spotted fever, except in having its principal location upon the lungs, and being slower in coming to a crisis. It commenced in this state in the autumn of 1812, at the northwestern part. It proved very mortal in the United States' army at Burlington, carrying off from 10 to 12 in a day, before it spread among the inhabitants: It was, however, but a short time before it became general throughout the state. In the course of the succeeding winter it swept off from 20 to 60 of the most respectable and useful citizens in almost every town. Intermittent fevers were formerly common in many places along the shores of lake Champlain, but cases of this disease at present very rarely occur. The dysentery has ever been one of the most fatal disorders to children, and has frequently prevailed in different sections of the state to an alarming degree. This disease is seldom known, except in the months of July, August and September. Some cases of dysentery have occurred almost every year since the state has been settled; but they have been for some years less numerous than formerly. In the autumn of 1822 and 1823, the dysentery appeared in a much more malignant form than usual, and was very fatal in some places.

16. But of all the diseases, which continue from year to year to make their inroads upon our population, the pulmonary consumption is the most fatal and deplorable. Slow in its advances, it almost imperceptibly undermines the constitution—exhausts the vital energies, and, annually, brings down hundreds within this state to an untimely grave. The consumption seems to have its origin in the sudden changes to which our climate is subject, and as the weather has become more variable in consequence of clearing and cultivating the country, we have an obvious cause for the increasing ravages of the dis-

case; and this cause is not a little aided by the propensity, which prevails, to indulge the caprices of of the fickle goddess, *fashion*. Too much pains cannot be taken by those, who prize their health, to guard themselves against the effects of sudden changes of temperature. The measles, canker rash, influenza, &c. have frequently been epidemic in this state. To the Epidemic Cholera which was so fatal in many parts of the United States during the summer of 1832, there were only ten or twelve victims in Vermont; and it may be safely affirmed that Vermont enjoys as pure an atmosphere, as good and wholesome water, and as healthy a climate as almost any part of the world.

17. *Seasons.*—The Climate of Vermont is cold and the weather is subject to sudden changes. The extremes of heat and cold are about 100 degrees above, and 27 degrees below, the zero in the scale of Fahrenheit's thermometer. But few observations have hitherto been made for determining the mean annual temperature. Snow usually falls about the first of December and covers the ground till April, and during this time the cold is often severe. The winters in Vermont are, however, milder and more variable, and the quantity of snow less, than at the time this state was first settled. Frost commonly ceases about the 10th of May and commences again about the first of October, but they have been known every month in the year. Apple-Trees put forth their leaves about the 5th of May, and their blossoms about the 15th. Indian corn is planted between the 10th and 25th of May, blossoms in July and is ripe in September. Vegetation is about eight or ten days later on the high lands than it is along the lake and rivers.

18. Vegetation has sometimes suffered for the want of rain, but much more frequently from too great an abundance; and the crops along our rivers are frequently destroyed by sudden freshets. The most re-

markable and destructive freshets which have occurred since the settlement of the state, were those of 1783, 1811 and 1830. In addition to the vast amount of property destroyed by these floods, many lives were also lost. During the freshet of 1830, no less than 14 persons, were drowned in the town of New Haven in this state.

19. *Soil and productions.*—The soil of Vermont is in general, rich and loamy, producing an abundance of those kinds of vegetables, which are common in our latitude. Still the variety of soil in the different parts of the state, is very considerable. Bordering our numerous rivers, are beautiful tracts of interval land, which consists of a dark, deep and fertile alluvial deposit, very productive in corn, grain, grass and garden vegetables. Back from the intervals, the land rises in some places gradually, in others abruptly, into hills, and further back into mountains. These are intersected by numerous streams, and in general, present a broken and diversified aspect. The uplands in many places are, however, scarcely inferior to the intervals. They are generally sufficiently free from stone to admit of easy cultivation, and produce good crops of corn, grain and grass. Farmers, who are industrious, seldom fail of having their barns filled with hay and flax, their granaries with corn, wheat, rye, oats, barley, peas and beans, and their cellars with the best of cider, potatoes, turnips, beets, onions, and other esculent vegetables. Those hills and mountains which are not arable, on account of their steepness or rocks, afford the best of pasturage for cattle and sheep. The principal articles of export are lumber, marble, copperas, horses, beef, pork, mutton, pot and pearl ashes, butter, cheese and wool. No part of the world is better adapted to the production and fattening of horses, cattle and sheep, than the hills and mountains of Vermont. The raising of wool constitutes an important branch of employment.

APPENDIX.

2. I.—Governors and Lieutenant Governors.

<i>Governors.</i>	<i>Lieut. Governors.</i>
1778 Thomas Chittenden.	Joseph Marsh.
1779 " "	Benjamin Carpenter.
1781* " "	El sha Payne.
1782 " "	Paul Spooner.
1786 " "	" "
1787 " "	Joseph Marsh.
1789 Moses Robinson.	" "
1790 Thomas Chittenden.	Peter Oleut.
1794 " "	Jonathan Hunt.
1796 " "	Paul Brigham.
1797 Isaac Tichenor.	" "
1801 " "	" "
1807 Israel Smith.	" "
1808 Isaac Tichenor.	" "
1809 Jonas Galusha.	" "
1813 Martin Chittenden.	William Chamberlain.
1815 Jonas Galusha.	Paul Brigham.
1820 Richard Skinner.	William Cahoon.
1822 " "	Aaron Leland.
1823 C. P. Van Ness.	" "
1825 Ezra Butler.	" "
1827 " "	Henry Olin.
1828 Samuel C. Crafts.	" "
1830 " "	Mark Richards.
1831 William A. Palmer.	Lebbeus Egerton.
1832 " "	" "

* In those years which are omitted as from 1779, &c., the incumbents were continued in office.

Nos. II.---Treasurers and Secretaries.

<i>Treasurers.</i>		<i>Secretaries of State.</i>	
1778	Ira Allen.	Thomas Chandler.	
1778*	" "	Joseph Fay.	
1781	" "	Micah Townsend.	
1786	Samuel Mattocks.	" "	
1788	" "	Roswell Hopkins.	
1801	Benjamin Swan.	" "	
1802	" "	David Wing Jr.	
1806	" "	Thomas Leverett.	
1813	" "	Josiah Dunham.	
1815	" "	William Slade Jr.	
1823	" "	Norman Williams.	
1831	" "	Timothy Merrill.	

No. III.---Speakers and Clerks.

<i>Speakers.</i>		<i>Clerks.</i>	
1778	Nathan Clark.	Benjamin Baldwin.	
1778	Thomas Chandler.	Bezaleel Woodward.	
1779	" "	Roswell Hopkins.	
1781	Thomas Porter.	" "	
1782	Increase Mosely.	" "	
1783	Isaac Tichenor.	" "	
1784	Nathan Niles.	" "	
1785	S. R. Bradley.	" "	
1786	Gideon Olin.	" "	
1788	" "	Stephen Jacobs.	
1790	" "	Lewis R. Morris.	
1791	" "	William Eaton.	
1793	Daniel Buck.	Richard Whitney.	
1795	Lewis R. Morris.	" "	
1797	Abel Spencer.	" "	
1798	Daniel Farrand.	Samuel C. Crafts.	
1799	Amos Marsh.	" "	
1800	" "	Nathan Osgood.	
1801	" "	James Elliot.	
1802	Abel Spencer.	" "	

* When the date is repeated there were two sessions of the assembly in a year.

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